Daily Report

Central Eurasia

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FBIS-SOV-95-243 *19 December 1995*

CONTENTS

NOTICE: An * indicates material not previously disseminated in electronic form.

DUMA ELECTION ISSUES

Key Results

Chernomyrdin, Zyuganov, Zhirinovskiy on Election Results *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 19 Dec]* 1
Central Election Commission: Communists at 22.3 Percent *[ITAR-TASS]* 1
Communists Win 45 of 179 Known Single-Member Seats *[ITAR-TASS]* 1
Communists Make Strong Gains in Constituency Polls *[ITAR-TASS]* 2
Communist Leader Anpilov Fails To Win Duma Seat *[ITAR-TASS]* 2
Gaydar's Bloc Crosses Five Percent Threshold *[Moscow Radio]* 2
Several Days To Count Chechen Votes; Zavgayev Comments *[Moscow Radio]* 2
Kozyrev Leads in Murmansk; May Submit Resignation 'Soon' *[INTERFAX]* 3
Incumbent Governors Fare Well in Regional Elections *[ITAR-TASS]* 3
Beer Lovers' Party To Participate in Presidential Elections *[INTERFAX]* 3
Runoff for Election of Novosibirsk Governors Due 24 Dec *[INTERFAX]* 3
Three Servicemen Reportedly Elected to State Duma *[INTERFAX]* 3

Regional Activities

Zorin Summarizes Election Count in Chechnya *[ITAR-TASS]* 4
INTERFAX Lists CIS Voting Figures 4
'Russia Is Our Home' Comes First in Tatarstan *[ITAR-TASS]* 6
Most Russians in Ukraine Voted for Communists *[INTERFAX]* 6
Russians in Moldova Vote for Lebed's KRO *[ITAR-TASS]* 6

Guidelines

Kaliningrad Ballot Paper Shortage Investigated *[ITAR-TASS]* 6

Commentary

Zyuganov: Communists To Align With Patriots in New Duma *[INTERFAX]* 7
Communists Favor 'Multiple' Economic Structure *[Moscow RTV]* 7
Favors Strong Army; Against Arms Race *[INTERFAX]* 7
Zhirinovskiy on Cooperation Plans After Elections *[Radio Rossii]* 8
NDR Headquarters Views Progress of Election Results *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 19 Dec]* 8
Yavlinskiy Assesses Support for Communists *[London TV]* 9
Warns Communists, LDPR May Seize Presidency *[INTERFAX]* 10
Filatov: 'Adjusting Course of Reforms' Must Be Pondered *[IZVESTIYA 19 Dec]* 10
Further on 'Amending' Course of Reforms *[ITAR-TASS]* 11
Shokhin: Elections Reveal Government Must Change Policy *[INTERFAX]* 11
Ryabov Interviewed on Election Results *[Moscow NTV]* 11
New Parliament, Presidential Elections Discussed *[Moscow NTV]* 12
Left's Success in 'Rehearsal' for Presidential Poll Hailed *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 19 Dec]* 14
Voters Wanted To Give Authorities 'Slap in Face' *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 19 Dec]* .. 15
CPRF, LDPR Benefit From Protest Vote *[IZVESTIYA 19 Dec]* 15
NDR, LDPR, Rybkin Bloc Spent Most on TV Advertising *[INTERFAX]* 17

Analyst: Election TV Campaigning 'Ineffective' *[INFORMATSIONNOYE AGENTSTVO EKHO MOSKVY]* 18

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

Moldova, Belarus Ministers View Russian Elections *[INFOTAG]* 19
Three Central Asia States To Stiffen Regional Security *[INTERFAX]* 19
ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 19 Dec 20

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

First Group of 12 Officers Leaves for Bosnia *[INTERFAX]* 21
Chernomyrdin 'Pleased' With Election Results *[ITAR-TASS]* 21
Foreign Ministry: No Policy Change Despite Elections *[INTERFAX]* 21
Kwasniewski Election Is 'Boon for Both Countries' *[IZVESTIYA 14 Dec]* 22
Grachev Comments on Talks With Norwegian Counterpart *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Dec]* 23
Russia To Repay Finland With Antiaircraft Systems *[SEGODNYA 16 Dec]* 23
Commission Backs Russia's Council of Europe Membership *[INTERFAX]* 24
Davydov: Paris Club Debt To Be Restructured *[INTERFAX]* 24
Moscow Clears 'One More Hurdle' in GATT Race *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 13 Dec]* 25
Trade With India Lost Due to 'Incompetence' *[IZVESTIYA 16 Dec]* 26
PRC Embassy Against Official Russia-Taiwan Contacts *[ITAR-TASS]* 27
Seminar Supports DPRK Model for Korean Reunification *[Moscow International]* 27
Krylov: Russia Favors Single State in Cyprus *[ITAR-TASS]* 28
Moscow Willing To Test Plutonium Smuggled Into Munich *[INTERFAX]* 28
Yeltsin Backs St. Petersburg Bid To Host 2004 Olympics *[ITAR-TASS]* 28

RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political Issues

CPRF's Success Makes Cabinet Reshuffle 'Inevitable' *[SEGODNYA 19 Dec]* 30
Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin Expected To Consider Reshuffle *[INTERFAX]* 31
Election Results Not Expected To Change Oil Exports *[INTERFAX]* 31
Yeltsin Returns Three Laws to Federation Council *[ITAR-TASS]* 31
Yeltsin Rejects Laws on Pensions, Industrial Cooperatives *[ITAR-TASS]* 31
'Not Enough Money' To Fund Chechnya Reconstruction *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 16 Dec]* 32
Lebed Calls For 'Professionals' in Government *[Munich FOCUS 18 Dec]* 32
Georgia's Giorgadze Said Living at Grachev's Dacha *[Moscow Radio]* 32

Media Issues

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA To Suspend Publication *[19 Dec]* 33

Military & Nuclear Issues

Text of Grachev Order on Strategic Missile Forces' Day *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Dec]* 33
Space Forces Launch Soyuz-U Rocket From Baykonur *[ITAR-TASS]* 34
Nuclear Waste in Vladivostok Discussed *[Tokyo EKONOMISUTO 5 Dec]* 34

Regional Affairs

Chechnya Reportage: Elections, Situation in Gudermes 36
Elections Show That Dudayev 'Must Quit' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Dec]* 36
Refugees Describe Situation in Gudermes *[AFP]* 36
Federal Forces Plan To Free Gudermes *[INTERFAX]* 37
Further on Plan To Free Gudermes *[Moscow ORT]* 38

Yeltsin To Create Search Team for MIA's *[INTERFAX]* 38
Crashed Tu-154 Aircraft Found in Khabarovsk Kray *[IZVESTIYA 19 Dec]* 38
Ossetian, Ingush Presidents Sign Treaty on Relations *[INTERFAX]* 39
Soskovets Tells Producers of Arms Exports Review *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 16 Dec]* 39
EBRD Institutes Fund for Development of NW Russia *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 16 Dec]* 40
Far North Administrators Deplore Nonpayment for Gas *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 15 Dec]* 40
Government Considering Arctic Border Guard Area *[ITAR-TASS]* 40

UKRAINE

International Affairs

Shmarov Opposes 'Rapid' NATO Expansion *[Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG 14 Dec]* 42
Relations Between Defense Ministry, NATO To Improve *[UNIAR]* 42
Shmarov on Black Sea Fleet, Russian Ties *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 14 Dec]* 42
Politicians View Russian Election Results *[INTELNEWS]* 44
Kiev To Develop Military Infrastructure on Disputed Island *[INTERFAX]* 44
Participation in Bosnian Peacekeeping Mission Viewed *[KHRESHCHATYK 13 Dec]* 44

National Affairs

Franchuk To Resign as Crimean Prime Minister *[INTELNEWS]* 45
Kuchma, Crimea's Suprunyuk Agree on Procedure *[Kiev International]* 46

Economic Issues

Parliament Approves Budget Deficit *[UNIAN]* 46
Moroz Views Economic Issues, Censures Kuchma *[HOLOS UKRAYINY 5 Dec]* 46
Power Supply Improves After Reconnection to Russian Grid *[UNIAN]* 48

WESTERN REGION

Belarus

'Belarusian Card' in Duma Elections Viewed *[BELAPAN]* 49
Journalists Prevented From Traveling Abroad *[ZVYAZDA 12 Dec]* 50

Moldova

Snegur: Difficulties in TransDniester Noted *[INTERFAX]* 51
Report on Voting by Russians in Chisinau, Tiraspol *[INFOTAG]* 51
Chisinau, Tiraspol Officials React to Elections *[INFOTAG]* 51
Defense Minister Opposes Russian Votes Leading to New USSR *[INTERFAX]* 52
Official: Russian Elections Cannot Change Foreign Policy *[INFOTAG]* 53

CENTRAL ASIA

Tajikistan

Rakhmanov: 'Fair and Democratic' Russian Elections *[INTERFAX]* 54
Opposition Leader Discusses Duma Elections *[INTERFAX]* 54

Turkmenistan

Nearly 3,500 Expatriates Vote in Russian Elections *[INTERFAX]* 54
Negotiations With Tajikistan Bring Positions Closer *[ITAR-TASS]* 54

CAUCASUS

Armenia

Foreign Minister on Russian Elections, Nagorno-Karabakh *[INTERFAX]* 55

Russian Ambassador Comments on Elections *[Yerevan Radio]* 55
Direct Radio-Telephone Link Established With Iran *[Yerevan International]* 56
Yerevan Reports Cease-Fire Violations *[Yerevan Radio]* 56

Georgia

Police Protect Polling Stations for Russian Elections *[IPRINDA]* 56
Supreme Council Approves New Foreign Minister *[IPRINDA]* 56
New Minister Outlines Priorities *[ITAR-TASS]* 56

BALTIC STATES

Estonia

Envoy Says Relations With Russia To Remain Unaffected *[ETA]* 57
Politicians Not Alarmed Over Russian Election Results *[BNS]* 57

Lithuania

Brazauskas Comments on Russian Election Results *[Vilnius Radio]* 58
Government Blamed for Slow Integration Into EU *[Vilnius Radio]* 58
President Brazauskas Concludes Visit to Madrid *[Vilnius Radio]* 58
President's Advisor Against Baltic Military Union *[INTERFAX]* 58
Foreign Ministry Hails Bosnian Peace Accord *[INTERFAX]* 59
U.S., Sweden Informed of Territorial Dispute With Latvia *[Riga Radio]* 59

Key Results

Chernomyrdin, Zyuganov, Zhirinovskiy on Election Results

MM1912093795 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Dec 95 p 1

[Unattributed interviews with Viktor Chernomyrdin, leader of the "Russia Is Our Home" movement; Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation; and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia: "Lightning Poll" — first paragraph is introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] What are the thoughts of the leaders of the sociopolitical associations and parties whose electoral blocs, according to preliminary calculations, have received the highest percentage in the voting? What are their assessments of the elections?

Viktor Chernomyrdin, leader of the "Russia Is Our Home" movement:

"I wish to congratulate all of us on the fact that the elections have taken place. And that is the most important thing. In today's situation the main thing for me and the government is to preserve what has been achieved. I wish to state that there will be no major changes. We must keep up what we have planned. It is important to note that in December 1995 — and this has always been a difficult month for the country — price rises have been held within the planned dimensions and we are reaching the indicators specified in the budget. With every day we will only gain, although there will be no rapid surges. On the other hand, the government's course will change, and for the better. Changes in the government are also possible, but they will not be of a kind to take your breath away.

"I regard what Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin said about me while voting as an expression of confidence in me and in my work. If the government can rely on a strong faction of centrist forces in the new Duma, this will be good for the government and for the country."

Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation]:

"We are prepared in the immediate future to propose to the new State Duma not only a new economic policy, but also a new government.

"As for our future participation in the Duma, the Communists' faction is open to everyone. In particular, we have experience of coalition work with the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia]."

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the LDPR:

"The new distribution of forces in the Duma will force the president and government to make cadre changes. As we expected, the LDPR received 40 percent of the votes, but the Central Electoral Commission 'struck off' half of them...."

(From the editorial office: As you can see, Vladimir Volfovich remains true to himself. But the Central Electoral Commission might take offense....)

Central Election Commission: Communists at 22.3 Percent

LD1912105295 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1019 GMT 19 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Kolesov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 19 Dec — According to figures from the Central Election Commission, as of 1230 Moscow time the Communist Party of the Russian Federation is maintaining its lead in voting on the nationwide list with 22.3 percent of the votes (21.9 percent on the evening of 18 December, figures for that stage given in brackets below).

In second place is the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, the figure for which has dropped slightly to 10.9 percent (11.1 percent). They are followed by the Russia is Our Home movement with 9.6 percent (9.6 percent) and Yabloko with 7.6 percent (8.4 percent).

There have been some changes just under the five percent hurdle. Fifth place has been taken by Women of Russia with 4.7 percent (4.5), then come the supporters of Viktor Anpilov [Working Russia] with 4.5 percent (4.2). Russia's Democratic Choice-United Democrats have lost ground slightly at 4.4 percent (4.8).

The Agrarian party has 4.3 percent and Svyatoslav Fedorov's bloc and the Congress of Russian Communities have 4 percent. Other parties have less than three percent of the poll.

The Central Electoral Commission figures include information on the votes cast by 45 million votes.

Communists Win 45 of 179 Known Single-Member Seats

LD1912105695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1035 GMT 19 Dec 95

[By Konstantin Kolesov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW December 19 (Itar-Tass) — The Communist party of Gennadiy Zyuganov, which is leading in proportional elections to the State Duma with 22.3 per cent, is also far ahead of other parties and blocs in one-seat constituencies, according

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to preliminary results provided by the Central Election Commission on Tuesday.

It told Tass the winners were known in 179 out of 225 one-seat constituencies and the communists won in 45 of them so far.

The Agrarian party was second with 15 seats, followed by the reformist Yabloko of Grigory Yavlinskiy with 12 seats and the Our Home is Russia of premier Viktor Chernomyrdin with 9 seats.

Two representatives of the Women of Russia also won in one-seat constituencies and only one representative of Liberal Democratic party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy succeeded to win so far.

Communists Make Strong Gains in Constituency Polls

LD1812152595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1513 GMT 18 Dec 95

[By Tamara Zamyatina]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 18 (Itar-Tass) - Results of voting for party lists and in single-mandate constituencies show that the Russian Communist Party has taken a strong lead in Russia's December 17 legislative elections, the presidential Analytical Department told Itar-Tass on Monday.

Communist candidates have won in 54 (out of 225) constituencies followed by the Agrarian Party (22 seats) and Our Home is Russia (12 seats), Yabloko (10 seats), Power to People! (eight seats), Russia's Democratic Choice/United Democrats (eight seats), the Congress of Russian Communities (five seats), Ivan Rybkin's bloc (three seats), Women of Russia (three seats), Onward, Russia! [as received] (three seats), and independent candidates received 83 seats in single-mandate constituencies.

Despite the obvious success of the Communist Party, presidential chief of staff Sergey Filatov told Itar-Tass that "the Our Home is Russia movement still have a chance to take third place in voting for party lists."

He said the results of voting for party lists have been summed up in 65 out of 89 regions which gives "Our Home is Russia a reserve of votes, especially in Tatarstan and major cities of the European part of Russia where the final results have not been announced yet."

Communist Leader Anpilov Fails To Win Duma Seat

LD1812131895 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1242 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Saratov, 18 Dec — Viktor Anpilov, leader of the Russian Communist Workers' Party, has failed to win a seat in the State Duma. Standing in the Balakovo No. 156 constituency, he gathered only 25,000 votes, according to provisional figures. This was several times less than Aleksandr Maksakov, director general of the Saratov hydroelectric power station construction organization [Saratovgesstroy], who was one of his main rivals.

Gaydar's Bloc Crosses Five Percent Threshold

LD1912063295 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 0541 GMT 19 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] It's 0841 [0541 GMT] and we are continuing to get fresh news here at the radio station. We have just got a correction from the Central Electoral Commission. They said that Gaydar's bloc [Russia's Democratic Choice - United Democrats] didn't get 5.75 percent as reported earlier, but 5.075 percent of the vote. But experts still think that Russia's Democratic Choice Party will get at least another half percent during the count. Let's hope so.

Several Days To Count Chechen Votes; Zavgayev Comments

LD1812143195 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1300 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Doku Zavgayev has been elected the head of the Chechen Republic. He was elected practically unanimously.

[Begin Zavgayev recording] That people have come out so actively to vote in the elections and that 95 percent of those who took part in the elections have voted for me has put on my shoulders an enormous responsibility. I will do my best to stand up to people's expectations. The republic is now going through enormous hardships, and I think we will manage to resolve these problems [word indistinct]. [end recording]

However, as was reported to our radio station by Artur Umanskiy, assistant to the chairman of the Chechen Central Electoral Commission, the counting of votes here is subject to difficulties because of the worsened situation in the republic:

[Umanskiy] The helicopters have taken off. They are trying to collect protocols and heads of territorial electoral commissions from various areas, including Naurskiy and Nadterechnyy Districts, to Groznyy in

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order to continue with the counting of votes. Some time will be required. Perhaps today we will obtain even more information. In other words, it will take us several days to gradually collect all the figures from across the republic. Then we will be able to talk about it in realistic terms.

Kozyrev Leads in Murmansk; May Submit Resignation 'Soon'

LD1812140995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1320 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 18 (Interfax) — Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev may soon send in his resignation, a source in the Kozyrev circle told Interfax Monday [18 December].

Judging by latest reports, Kozyrev is leading in the 116th single-mandate electoral district of Murmansk. "The new Russian Constitution denies a Duma deputy the right to combine his law-maker status with a post in the executive branch," said the source.

"As soon as Kozyrev's victory in the Duma elections is officially announced, the minister will make a statement on his plans. This will happen within hours or several days," he added.

Kozyrev told correspondents Sunday after voting at a Moscow polling station that the ministry post does not help him to gain the votes. He made an evasive answer when asked about possible resignation if elected Duma deputy. The Foreign Minister did not exclude a possibility of his resignation by saying he fully respects the opinion of Murmansk residents. "I hope it will be positive for me," said Kozyrev.

Incumbent Governors Fare Well in Regional Elections

LD1812140295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1341 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 18 (Itar-Tass) — Residents of Russian regions are pleased with the governors appointed by the Russian President and entrusted them with heading the administration again. Such a conclusion can be drawn from the information about the results of the elections received by now regarding the elections of governors in 13 Russian regions and territories held simultaneously with the elections to the State Duma.

According to preliminary information, Mikhail Prusak, the present head of the Novgorod regional administration, won the elections for governor. Vladimir Yelagin in the Orenburg region also kept his post of head of the regional administration. More than half the number of ballots were cast for present governor of the Yaroslavl region Anatoliy Lisitsyn. Some 60 per cent of voters supported governor of the Nizhny Novgorod region Boris Nemtsov. Governor of the Maritime territory Yevgeniy Nazdratenko was also elected.

There is no precise data about the voting in the Moscow region. According to preliminary information Chief of the regional administration Anatoliy Tyazhlov is ahead in the race for the governor's post.

Beer Lovers' Party To Participate in Presidential Elections

LD1812142895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1320 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 18 (Interfax) — The Beer Lovers' Party has not been discouraged by preliminary reports on its defeat in the parliament elections. The party's General Secretary Konstantin Kalachev told Interfax Monday [18 December] they will participate in the presidential elections in 1996.

"The party has had consultations with famed satirist Mikhail Zhvanetskiy. He is thinking over our proposal to run for Russian president," said Kalachev.

Commenting on the party's scarce support at the parliament elections, the leader said they should not have been too serious.

Runoff for Election of Novosibirsk Governors Due 24 Dec

LD1812144295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1320 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] NOVOSIBIRSK, Dec 18 (Interfax-Eurasia) — The current governor of the Novosibirsk region Ivan Indinok and his predecessor Vitaliy Mukha, currently vice president of a commercial bank, have gone through into the second round of gubernatorial elections in the region. Mukha runs from the staff of the farm machinery plant Sibselmash and the Novosibirsk branch of the Russian Communist Party, the regional administration's press center has reported. The second round of elections will take place on December 24th.

Three Servicemen Reportedly Elected to State Duma

LD1812175195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1633 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 18 (Interfax) — A representative of the Russian Defense Ministry's Main Discipline Department, Col. Nikolay Burbyga, said that according to early election returns, three

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Russian servicemen had been elected for the State Duma from single-mandate constituencies.

Burbyga said the winners were Chechen Military Commissioner, Maj. Gen. Ibragim Suleimenov, Deputy Commander of the Military-Transport Aviation Department, Col. Yevgeniy Zelenov and Maj. Gen. Nikolay Bezborodov.

Burbyga said he hoped that another four to five servicemen might be elected for the State Duma in single-mandate constituencies.

"We have predicted such election results. The absence of necessary funding for servicemen's election campaign considerably influenced the election results," he said.

Burbyga said servicemen had spent 4 million to 8 million rubles each on their election campaigns, which "is far below expenses of other candidates for the parliament."

A total of 118 military men ran for the State Duma.

Regional Activities

Zorin Summarizes Election Count in Chechnya

LD1912101495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1000 GMT 19 Dec 95

[By Sergey Trofimov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY December 19 (Itar-Tass) - The Moscow-backed leader of Chechnya, Doku Zavgayev, reportedly won a landslide victory in elections of the head of Chechnya which were held for three days in the rebel republic.

95 percent of the turnout voted for Zavgayev, Vladimir Zorin, first deputy head of the Russian territorial administration in Chechnya, told a press conference on Tuesday.

The Our Home is Russia election bloc of Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, who actually stopped the war in Chechnya, was leading in State Duma elections in the republic with 50 percent of votes, according to Zorin. He quoted preliminary results as saying that the second was the Muslim NUR bloc with 15.2 per cent, followed by the Communist party of Gennadiy Zyuganov with 8.8 per cent.

In the one-seat constituency the military commissar of Chechnya, Ibragim Suleymanov, enjoyed most of support and was ahead of Badroddin Dzhomaukhanov, the current vice-premier of Chechnya, in the race for a Duma seat.

Zorin also said that he was informed by the OSCE on Tuesday that its mission is returning to Groznyy soon.

INTERFAX Lists CIS Voting Figures

LD1812191795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1732 GMT 18 Dec 95

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 18 (Interfax) — Deputy Chairperson of the Russian Foreign Ministry's commission for the State Duma elections abroad Valentina Matviyenko told Interfax today that, according to early election results, Yabloko led the polls in the far abroad and the Communist Party of Russia reigned in the near abroad.

(IF Note: the Yabloko movement is led by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy and the Communist Party of Russia by Gennadiy Zyuganov).

Matviyenko said that by Monday 5:00 p.m. the commission had received early returns from 181 polling stations in 106 countries of the far abroad and 28 polling stations in nearly all countries of the near abroad, except Armenia, Georgia and Tajikistan. The commission has not so far received election returns from Russian servicemen deployed abroad.

The State Duma elections took place in a total of 145 countries where 391 polling stations were created, including 132 polling stations in the near abroad.

As of Monday 5:00 p.m. Moscow time, 36,442 people, or 42.8 percent of registered voters, came to the Duma polls in the far abroad and 29,220 people, or 37.4 percent of registered voters, in the near abroad.

The diplomat said that in the far abroad Yabloko was followed by the Our Home is Russia bloc led by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and Russia's Democratic Choice led by Yegor Gaydar. Then go the Congress of Russian Communities led by Yuriy Skokov and the Workers' Self-Rule Party led by renown eye surgeon Svyatoslav Fedorov.

In the near abroad, the likely winner — the Communist Party — is followed by the Congress of Russian Communities, Our Home is Russia and the Communists-Working Russia-For The Soviet Union bloc. Yabloko is also among the favorites, Matviyenko said.

She said about 380,000 Russian voters had been registered abroad, including 7,500 employees of diplomatic missions of which 2,000 people are diplomats.

Matviyenko said polling stations created abroad were considered as part of 12 constituencies in Moscow and the Moscow region and two constituencies in the Leningrad region (Estonia and Latvia).

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The majority of voters on the Black Sea Fleet and in Sevastopol, the fleet's key naval base in Ukraine's Crimea, cast their ballots in favor of the For the Homeland bloc (23 percent) and the Congress of Russian Communities (13 percent).

Black Sea Fleet Commander Eduard Baltin is one of the For the Homeland bloc's leaders.

The Sevastopol City Electoral Commission told Interfax today that these two parties were followed here by the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR) with 11 percent of votes, Our Home is Russia with 5 percent, Yabloko with 2 percent and Russia's Democratic Choice with 1 percent.

A total of 11,848 voters, or 97 percent of registered voters, came to the Duma polls in Sevastopol and on the Black Sea Fleet. Out of the 11,848 voters, 1,250 people are civilians.

A total of 13,500 out of the 21,500 Russian voters in Ukraine, including Sevastopol and the Black Sea Fleet, came to the Duma polls.

A representative of the Russian Embassy to Belarus Aleksandr Karpushin told Interfax that the majority of Russian citizens living in Belarus had voted for Our Home is Russia (26.6 percent).

He said 8.1 percent of voters had voted for the Communist Party of Russia, 7.5 percent for the LDPR, 5.6 percent for Yabloko and 4.8 percent for the Congress of Russian Communities.

A total of 3,600 out of the 4,500 Russian voters registered in Belarus came to the Duma polls.

About 40 percent of those who came to the State Duma polls in Moldova voted for the Congress of Russian Communities, the Russian Embassy in Chisinau told Interfax today. About 35 percent of Russian voters in Moldova voted for the Communist Party of Russia and about 10 percent for the LDPR.

A total of 10,000 out of 27,000 Russian voters registered in Moldova came to the State Duma polls.

In Estonia, 41.4 percent of Russian voters voted for the Communist Party of Russia, Counsellor of the Russian Embassy in Tallinn Vasiliy Ostapchuk said.

According to early election returns, 18.6 percent of votes were cast in favor of the Congress of Russian Communities, 6.9 percent for the Power to the People and 5.9 percent for the LDPR. A total of 5.07 percent of voters voted for the Communists-Working Russia-For The Soviet Union and 4.6 percent for Our Home is Russia.

Out of the 80,000 Russian voters registered in Estonia, 15,549 voters took part in the State Duma elections.

Over 5,500 out of the 29,056 Russian voters registered in Latvia came to the State Duma polls.

About 58 percent of Russians here voted for the Communist Party of Russia. The Communist Party was followed by the Congress of Russian Communities (9 percent of votes), the Communists-Working Russia-For The Soviet Union (6.6 percent), the LDPR (6 percent), Our Home is Russia (3.7 percent) and Yabloko (1.4 percent). The Workers' Self-Rule Party canvassed about 1 percent of votes in Latvia.

In Georgia, the majority of Russian voters cast their ballots in favor of Our Home is Russia, the Russian Embassy in Tbilisi told Interfax Monday.

According to early estimations, Our Home is Russia is followed by the LDPR and the Communist Party of Russia.

Final out-turns will be available by Monday evening.

Over 80 percent of the 1,200 Russian voters staying in Azerbaijan came to the State Duma polls. About 15 percent of Russian voters here voted for the Communist Party of Russia, the Russian Embassy in Baku told Interfax. The Communist Party is followed here by Our Home is Russia (13 percent), the LDPR (10 percent) and the Congress of Russian Communities (9 percent).

The rest of electoral blocs and parties failed to overcome the 5 percent threshold.

Counsellor of the Russian Embassy in Dushanbe Feliks Dovzhenok told Interfax that Russian voters living in Tajikistan favored the Communist Party of Russia (about 22 percent of votes), the Congress of Russian Communities (about 13 percent) and the LDPR (about 12 percent).

Dovzhenok said 100 percent of Russian voters registered in Tajikistan had come to the State Duma polls.

In Uzbekistan, the Communist Party of Russia, Our Home is Russia and the Congress of Russian Communities mustered 12 percent of votes each party.

Yabloko, the Workers' Self-Rule Party, the LDPR and Russia's Democratic Choice-United Democrats also managed to overturn the 5 percent hurdle here.

A total of 1,700 Russian voters came to the State Duma polls in Uzbekistan.

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'Russia Is Our Home' Comes First in Tatarstan

LD1912092295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0852 GMT 19 Dec 95

[By Nikolay Sorokin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KAZAN, December 19 (Itar-Tass) - The "Our Home is Russia" (NDR) election bloc has won with a broad margin at parliamentary elections in Tatarstan. A total of 28,6 per cent of the electorate in Tatarstan has voted for the NDR federal ticket.

The Communist Party of the Russian Federation has been left far behind with 15,4 per cent of votes. The Liberal Democratic party won 4,8 per cent, " Yabloko" - 4,1 per cent, respectively.

Most Russians in Ukraine Voted for Communists

LD1812180495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1633 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, Dec 18 (Interfax - Ukraine) — Russia's Communist Party won most of the votes of Russian citizens in Ukraine in Sunday's election for the State Duma, Russia's lower house of parliament, officers in Russian electoral commissions in Ukraine told Interfax - Ukraine.

Thus, the 541-strong Russian electorate of Simferopol, capital of the autonomous region of Crimea, gave 24 percent of its vote to the Communists. Thirteen percent voted for the nationalist Congress of Russian Communities, 11 percent for the center-right Our Home is Russia bloc, led by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, and 9 percent for the extreme nationalist Liberal Democratic Party.

Altogether about 13,500 Russians voted in Ukraine. More than 10,000 of them were members of the Black Sea Fleet personnel. In Sevastopol, Crimea, where they voted, the leadership is held by the For the Homeland bloc with its 23 percent of votes. The bloc is followed by the Congress of Russian Communities (13 percent), the Liberal Democratic Party (11 percent), the Communist Party (7 percent), Our Home is Russia (5 percent) and the pro-reform Democratic Choice of Russia - United Democrats (1 percent).

The number three candidate on the For the Homeland list was Black Sea Fleet commander Admiral Eduard Baltin.

Russians in Moldova Vote for Lebed's KRO

LD1912111595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0834 GMT 19 Dec 95

[By Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] CHISINAU, December 19 (Itar-Tass) - The Congress of Russian Communities (KRO) has won the majority votes in the elections to the State Duma held among Russian citizens residing there. Even after one of the leaders of the KRO bloc General Lebed left Moldova he remains the most popular politician among the Russians in Moldova.

Sources from the Russian Embassy told Itar-Tass that 6,331 people out of the total of 15,045 Russian citizens had voted for the KRO bloc. The KRO is followed by the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, which won 2,599 votes. Next comes the Liberal Democratic Party (1,842 votes), the Our Home is Russia bloc (421) and "Yabloko" (227).

The highest turnout was reported in the Dniester region where the electorate consisted predominantly of a group of Russian troops formerly subordinated to General Lebed. In Tiraspol, the turnout reached a record high level of 90 per cent and the majority of the voters cast their ballot papers in favour of the KRO bloc led by the former commander of the 14th Army, General Lebed.

Guidelines

Kaliningrad Ballot Paper Shortage Investigated

LD1812210795 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1604 GMT 18 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Nesnevich]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kaliningrad, 18 Dec — Electors who did not manage to exercise their constitutional right to take part in the elections owing to a...lack of ballot papers at some polling stations in the city and some of the districts of the region, today appealed to Kaliningrad regional Prosecutor's Office.

The ballot papers ran out soon after 1500 hours on election day. While new ones were being printed, and being transferred from polling station to polling station, many electors decided not to vote. As the ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the regional Prosecutor's Office, the circumstances connected with the shortage of ballot papers is now being investigated. It is not ruled out that criminal proceedings may be taken.

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Commentary

Zyuganov: Communists To Align With Patriots in New Duma

LD1812173595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1633 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 18 (Interfax) — The Communist Party plans to set up a national patriotic coalition and consult "all its allies and fellow-travellers" in the new Duma, party chief Gennadiy Zyuganov announced at a briefing at Moscow's Interim Press Center on Monday.

The Russian Communists aim "to consolidate their positions in the structures that influence the situation in the country," Zyuganov said, revealing that even 24 hours before the vote, the Communist party endorsed a time-table of consultations and mapped out the party's strategy for the next three weeks.

At 50 single-mandate districts across Russia, according to Zyuganov, the party "met its allies halfway" and withdrew its candidates in favour of Nikolay Ryzhkov's bloc Power to the People and the Agrarian Party.

The Communists got on well with the Women of Russia, even though one of its leaders, "Yekaterina Lakhova, pursued a pro-presidential course too explicitly," Zyuganov said, not ruling out "a business contact" with the movement Yabloko of Grigoriy Yavlinskiy. "We sometimes managed that through dialogue in the current Duma."

By meeting a number of "simple terms," one "can deal with any party, Zhirinovskiy's LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] included," Zyuganov said, adding that among such conditions is inadmissibility of territorial disintegration of Russia, avoidance of confrontation and conflicts similar to that in Chechnya, and the drafting of laws to make people's life easier.

Communists Favor 'Multiple' Economic Structure

LD1912064695 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0430 GMT 19 Dec 95

[Interview with Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, by unidentified correspondent, in the "Time For Business People" program; date, place not given — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent] The postulates of the Communist Party and the Communist movement always rejected private ownership of the means of production. Well, what are your views on this in the light of the given situation?

[Zyuganov] Well, you know, this has all been invented by journalists. Lenin's new economic policy was a multi-structural [mnogoukladnaya] economy. Open up our election program and you will see it written there with complete clarity that we are in favor of the economy having a multiple structure. For us collective ownership is a priority and we say why plainly. If this form of ownership is abolished then the taxes needed to give children a decent education, to look after the health of the elderly properly so they have security in their lives, and to maintain the country's security at the required level will not be collected. Nothing will work. It is impossible to do this with hand-outs and sponsorship.

Otherwise we will support anyone who is able to work well irrespective of the form of ownership. That is written in all the programs. We have said it a thousand times. And you go on singing that old song, taking your cue from [Russia's Democratic Choice - United Democrats leader Yegor] Gaydar who now has problems getting five percent.

[Correspondent] But, as this is the Time For Business People program, we would just like to get a clear idea of what enterpreneurs should expect.

[Zyuganov] But I have made it clear in speeches that we will do everything to make life even better for everyone who works well and normally.

Favors Strong Army; Against Arms Race

LD1812172295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1633 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 18 (Interfax) — Russian Communist Party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov called for "strong armed forces with high moral and political qualities" and against a new arms race at a news conference in Moscow Monday.

Zyuganov said he is alarmed with the current condition of the Russian armed forces. He is alarmed even with the look of officers, who wear service caps similar to those of war-time German officers.

The communist leader criticized the chevrons on Russian military uniforms and said that the three-color chevrons "correspond to the colors of the flag deposited in the Lenin Mausoleum in 1945 together with Hitler flags."

He sharply criticized NATO plans for eastward expansion. "What would the residents of Estonia's northeast say, 80 percent of whom are Russian-Speaking," if East European states and the Baltic republics join the bloc, said Zyuganov.

In his opinion, people will vote for joining Russia in that case, and Estonia will be divided. If this happens,

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a military clash between Russia and Germany will become possible "but both states will not do it," said Zyuganov. That is why "possible eastward expansion of NATO must be considered very carefully."

Asked about his plans to run for president, Zyuganov said it is premature to speak about it, but a decision will be taken by the party congress.

Zhirinovskiy on Cooperation Plans After Elections

LD1812202595 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] While the Central Electoral Commission is counting votes, the leaders of parties have been sharing their thoughts regarding their further plans. Thus, Communist Leader Zyuganov told a news conference today that his party intends to collaborate with all the parties and blocs, having noted that everybody, including the president, will have to consider the views of his party. The leaders of other parties also talked about their plans. This is what Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the leader of the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia], told our correspondent Vladimir Vishnev.

[Begin recording] [Zhirinovskiy] In any case we will consider the second place a victory. The trouble is that at the local level, elections are often rigged, and the Central Electoral Commission gets the wrong information from polling stations. We wish to hope that false results will be at their minimum.

[Vishnev] Who do you see as your allies at the Duma?

[Zhirinovskiy] If there are four [as heard] factions — the Communists, Our Home is Russia, and Yabloko, then we will have no allies. Nevertheless, in some respects at least we will probably be collaborating with Our Home is Russia and Communists, if their positions promote strengthening the state, the economy, and citizens' personal security.

[Vishnev] Will you raise the issue of the government's resignation at the State Duma?

[Zhirinovskiy] It is still too early to talk about it, because the president promised a cabinet reshuffle. If the changes are not what we want then we will insist on the changes which we think are needed. If he removes the ministers who should be removed we will support this move.

[Vishnev] What will your first steps be in the new State Duma?

[Zhirinovskiy] To do away with the war in the Caucasus, to help in a settlement of the Balkan crisis, and to urgently help Russia's agriculture in order to prevent its perishing, and to assist it in supplying our citizens with food. We want to wipe out state and criminal racketeering and to set up a new taxation system, making 40 percent a maximum tax threshold; 60 percent must stay with a citizen and an enterprise. These are the first measures we need in order to calm things down, and to stop the decline and to start gradually going forward. [end recording]

Our correspondent also got in touch with Vladimir Ryzhkov, deputy head of the Executive Committee of the Our Home is Russia movement, and asked him to comment on the preliminary results of the elections.

[Begin recording] [passage omitted]

[Vishnev] Who do you see as your allies in the new Duma?

[Ryzhkov] We are ready to work in specific issues with any faction, including the Communists, and in some individual cases even with the LDPR. Generally, however, we are hoping for reliable supporters, among whom are Yabloko, Democratic Choice of Russia, Women of Russia, and I think the Agrarian Party of Russia, in some respects at least.

[Vishnev] How do you see the future of the Chernomyrdin government?

[Ryzhkov] I think that after the elections to the Duma there will be certain changes in the government. Certain aspects of the government's work might have to be revised. But I do not think there will be any radical change of policy.

[Vishnev] Does the government intend to resign?

[Ryzhkov] I cannot speak on behalf of the government. I think that they have no such intention, not because they want to keep their posts, but because it would be a pointless action now that even the actual irreconcilable opposition understand this and does not insist on the government's immediate resignation. [end recording]

NDR Headquarters Views Progress of Election Results

MM1912110495 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Andrey Shcherbakov: "While the Snowstorm Raged. On Election Day, NDR ["Russia Is Our Home"] Headquarters Was Working Openly and Without a Lunch Break"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow — When the voting was in full swing, a severe, positively Pushkinian snowstorm broke out in downtown Moscow. Visibility was not more than a few meters. But many journalists who had come to the "Mir" Hotel, the headquarters

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of the "Russia Is Our Home" [NDR] movement, did not even notice the natural cataclysm. The attention of the press was focused every hour on up-to-the-minute briefings in which NDR leaders and candidates for the State Duma took part. At the same intervals, the "Election Chronicle" bulletin was issued, containing information on the course of the voting and sociological data.

Of course, the greatest interest was prompted by the meeting with the movement's leader, Viktor Chernomyrdin. Viktor Stepanovich was restrained in his assessments of the political situation, and talked more about the prospects for the development of the Russian economy. The journalists therefore besieged Sergey Belyayev and Aleksandr Shokhin with questions on whom the NDR intends to cooperate with in the new State Duma. It was Shokhin who showed the movement's cards to the greatest extent. He believes that a centrist majority is simply essential for the new Duma. Which political forces could the NDR movement act jointly with? Shokhin mentioned "Yabloko" and "Russia's Democratic Choice," but noted particularly that it is planned to establish cooperation with deputies getting in from single-seat districts from those parties that have not succeeded in crossing the 5-percent barrier and with which there are no disagreements of principle. Consultations on these questions will begin in the very near future.

Incidentally, the NDR deliberately did not put forward candidates in 50 districts, so as to support those centrist candidates who the movement's leaders believe to be stronger.

Of course, the journalists were bound to ask Sergey Belyayev, the NDR chief of staff, what will be regarded as success for the movement. Like Shokhin, he thinks that NDR will deem it a success when independent deputies sharing the movement's ideology align with it in the State Duma. In Belyayev's words, "the government must be controlled by a real political force that could be created on the basis of the NDR faction." He recalled that the Russian Federation president has guaranteed the government the continuation of the course of reforms that has been set.

Yavlinskiy Assesses Support for Communists

MS1912101595 London BBC Television Network in English 2230 GMT 18 Dec 95

[Interview with Grigoriy Yavlinskiy Leader of the Yabloko Party, by presenter Jon Snow; Yavlinskiy in Moscow; Snow in the London Studio on 18 Dec, from the "Newsnight" program — recorded]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Snow] I spoke to the leader of the Reformist Party Yabloko, which has actually increased it's vote a fraction since the last election in 1993, he is Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, and I asked him what he thought the effect would be of the Communists topping the poll?

[Yavlinskiy] The main effect would be that the confrontation between the parliament and the president would be certainly be harder than before, and also I think that Mr Yeltsin would [word indistinct] just now to make some compromises with the Communists, which I think would not be in favour of Russian reforms. The other outcome would be that if the government would continue the war in Chechnya and would continue the same mistakes in economic reform, we can see just now that the forces on the presidential election campaign would be the same as those we see in Duma, and the Communists would have really strong support and that would be really dangerous for the future of Russia.

[Snow] Do you recognize that the main reason the Communists did so well was that you the reformers failed to unite?

[Yavlinskiy] I would say that if all the reformers would be united together I have very strong doubts that they would cross the five per cent, they would be all in the same position in which Gaydar is just today. I think that the reason why the Communists are so high on the top, is the reason that the economic policy of Chernomyrdin and the war of Yeltsin in the Caucuses, disappointed the people in the country, that is the main reason. The reason is also that Chernomyrdin's government is still not making any kind of crucial steps in making private property in the country, competition, free markets, land reform all those important elements of reform is not realized.

[Snow] Are you saying that what people want is more reform, aren't people saying no to reform by voting the way they have?

[Yavlinskiy] Yes, I am saying that the country wants real reforms, the people want property, the people want land, the people do not want war in the Caucuses, that's what the people want, and that is what the government and Yeltsin is not doing for the last two years.

[Snow] But they voted for the Communist Party who are against reform, so how can you say that they voted for reform?

[Yavlinskiy] Because Communist's are saying that what happens in the country that is the reform, and in this

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case the people are saying so if that is the reform we do not want such time of reform, we want to go back to salaries through pensions and to less corruption and crimes, as it was before.

[Snow] Will you be a candidate in the presidential elections next June?

[Yavlinskiy] Yes, I am supposed to be a candidate from the Democratic Forces of Russia in the presidential elections, and just now I think that the most crucial my task is to organize as wide a coalition of the democratic forces as it is possible, because for presidential elections all democrats of the country must be together.

[Snow] Now if you do not all form up behind one reformist candidate in the elections next June, is there a danger that you could leave the field open to the Communists?

[Yavlinskiy] No, at the presidential elections in any case I am absolutely sure all democratic-oriented people would be together.

[Snow] Now how concerned should people in the West be that the two parties who are topping the poll at the moment, are parties that want to see the restoration of the Soviet Union?

[Yavlinskiy] The Communist Party surely can organize very different dangerous projects in Russia just today, but I think that we would have enough force to stop this attempts.

Warns Communists, LDPR May Seize Presidency

LD1812172695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1633 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 18 (Interfax) — Preliminary results of the Russian Duma elections "have persuasively demonstrated the political consequences of that economic and domestic political course which the Russian president and government were pursuing during the last two years," leader of the Yabloko public association Grigoriy Yavlinskiy told Interfax Monday.

This policy of the federal executive power "has created all conditions for a sharp increase of the communists' social base and preservation of that favoring the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia]," Yavlinskiy said.

He believes that if President Boris Yeltsin and the government headed by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin "do not introduce any substantial changes in the economic and domestic political course, then the outcome of the presidential 1996 elections can be regarded as predetermined because representatives of the communist-patriotic forces are likely to win at those elections."

At the same time Yavlinskiy noted that for the time being one can speak with certainty about victory of only four blocs, namely the Communists, the LDPR, NDR [Russia is Our Home], and Yabloko.

Having noted that as of this moment the CEC [Central Electoral Commission] has calculated only half of the votes, Yavlinskiy said that it will be possible to more definitely judge final distribution of political forces in the new State Duma only some time later.

Filatov: 'Adjusting Course of Reforms' Must Be Pondered

MM1912093695 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Sergey Chugayev: "There Will Be Negligible Change in Line-up of Forces in New Parliament"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The new State Duma formed as a result of the elections will most likely not differ significantly from the present one. Both continuity and stability will be preserved. This is how Central Electoral Commission Chairman N. Ryabov commented on the preliminary election results at a news conference held in the morning of 18 December at the "Vybory-95" [Elections-95] federal information processing center.

According to the Central Electoral Commission head, the balance of political forces existing in the current parliament will be retained in the future Duma. It's just that on the left flank the Communists will change places with the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] while in the reformist camp "Russia Is Our Home" will replace PRES [Party of Russian Unity and Accord] and the DPR [Democratic Party of Russia].

The preliminary voting results show that the new Duma will most probably be represented by six-seven parties, Presidential Chief of Staff S. Filatov, who participated in the news conference, considers. In his view, the large number of votes cast for the LDPR was again a surprise. As was the complete failure of the KRO [Congress of Russian Communities].

The presidential chief of staff considers that the election results were primarily influenced by the results of the reforms and the socioeconomic situation in which a considerable proportion of the population have found themselves as a result of these reforms. It is no coincidence, in S. Filatov's view, that the Communists and the Liberal Democrats gained the greatest support in depressed regions whereas they lost out in more affluent Moscow and St. Petersburg. In the vote for the

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Communists we see an expression of protest, S. Filatov stated. He stressed here that the executive must now draw conclusions and think about adjusting the course of reforms.

As for the democrats, the main reason for their failure, in S. Filatov's view, was the fact that the democratic leaders did not manage to unite. And just before the presidential elections the democrats must learn a lesson from this mistake.

Further on 'Amending' Course of Reforms

LD1812101195 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0921 GMT 18 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Ivanstov]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Moscow, 18 Dec — "We should draw the conclusions from the results of voting and amend the course of reforms", Sergey Filatov, head of the Russian president's administration, told journalists today. According to him, the process of providing for the needs of the poorest sections of the population has been unjustifiably long. "The poor should not be made poorer — we should now pay serious attention to this motto of democrats", Filatov stressed. [passage omitted]

Filatov said that 10 administration chiefs have been elected in the Russian Federations's 13 components. The issue of electing Anatoliy Tyazhlov as head of Moscow Region administration is being currently decided. According to first reports, there will be a rerun of elections in Tambov and Novosibirsk regions.

Shokhin: Elections Reveal Government Must Change Policy

LD1812173995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1633 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 18 (Interfax) — The preliminary results of the elections to the Russian State Duma show that the government must introduce significant changes in its policy, Aleksandr Shokhin, a leader of the Our Home Is Russia (NDR) bloc, told a briefing at the Provisional Moscow Press Center Monday.

The success of the left, owing mainly to regional votes, demonstrates that "the population is tired of the reforms' excesses," said Shokhin. Hence, the policy must change so that "the people feel the results of economic stabilization directly, not in statistics," he said.

Shokhin, who was NDR campaign organizer in Moscow, said that the bloc expected to get 12 percent of votes and to come first among democratically-oriented parties.

He said that at least 40 NDR members won in single-mandate constituencies.

Shokhin stressed that NDR counts on cooperation with various parties and blocs that have not overcome the 5 percent barrier but got their members elected in single-mandate constituencies.

He named Russia's Democratic Choice, Women of Russia and several other parties who came close to 5 percent as reliable NDR allies.

Ryabov Interviewed on Election Results

LD1812223495

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow NTV in Russian at 1635 GMT on 18 December in its "Hero of the Day" program broadcasts a 16-minute recorded interview of Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Central Electoral Commission, by Leonid Parfenov in Moscow on 18 December.

Ryabov begins by saying that the final results of the Duma elections will be known within three weeks of 17 December, as specified by the electoral law. He adds: "However, if we are talking about preliminary results, then I think there may be results for all the constituent parts by 20 December, for all the constituencies, constituent parts, and parties."

Asked whether the positions of the four parties currently in the lead will change once all the results are in, Ryabov answers: "Of course they will not change fundamentally, but there is a question, a question concerning above all Russia's Choice." Asked whether they will cross the 5 percent threshold, Ryabov replies: "They are balanced around 4.8-4.9 percent. It is rather more difficult with the Women of Russia. They need approximately another one-half percent, but the question seems already closed for the rest."

Parfenov goes on to comment that just as no-one had predicted the success of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR) in the 1993 elections, Zhirinovskiy's strong showing this time and the poor results for the Congress of Russian Communities have come as a surprise to the experts. Parfenov then asks: "Why do you think the results of our elections are so unpredictable?" Ryabov replies: "Well, it is not really my area, my concern, but of course we come across this." He continues: "But speaking purely about sociological... [pauses] then of course we do not have a methodology appropriate to our society. The society is in a transitional phase and that methodology, those tools that were

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devised by sociologists for a socialist society, are not suitable. The methodology that exists in the West for a market economy society, a bourgeois society that remains stable, is not suitable either. So this is an objective reason.

"A second reason is that society is being restructured along party lines. It began with the transfer of sympathy and power to charismatic leaders. Today it is growing into a more regular phase, that is the formation of parties with their own electorates. If, for example, people voted for Yavlinskiy yesterday, today they are voting for the party. If someone voted for Zhirinovskiy, then today they are voting for the LDPR. This is still a process, but it is already evident."

Parfenov goes on to comment that it seems people changed their intentions at the last minute. Ryabov responds: "I do not think that the insulting phrase, Russia has turned stupid, which one gentleman used to describe the 1993 elections, will be used this year, because intelligent people who respect their nation understand that the reason goes far deeper today. The people cannot turn stupid, they are very wise. It is a fact that we do not get to our intentions, to the depths of our consciousness, you see, because perhaps our research scrapes the surface. This leads to some disappointments, but this does not mean that people immediately change their orientation at heart.

"I think the people both then and now have demonstrated two things. What are they? People want stability. This is clear from the results of voting. You see that new people simply have not been let into the deputies' club. Russia is Our Home is not new. It is a well-known, predictable force, which, although not completely, is in power in the shape of the government. But the people are wary of others. They do not want revolutionary explosions. They have an objective interest in evolutionary, gradual development.

"A second conclusion is that there is nostalgia for the past. There is a striving, a desire to retain something from the past. This must be recognized and taken into account. You take this opinion into account, you correct your course, and you pay attention to those representatives in parliament with somewhat different views, perceptions, and platforms."

Ryabov goes on to say that he met the international observers many times before the elections and once voting had started. He says observers performed a good service to Russian society in 1993 and their recommendations had been taken into account.

Questioned about reports of shortages of ballot papers in St. Petersburg, Ryabov answers: "This is a technical question. One commission did not distribute ballot papers as they should have done to the polling stations. They were left in boxes at the commission. This was sorted out and there is a full investigation under way into why this happened, but it did not affect voting. There were some delays but people went to vote all the same in St. Petersburg.

"Returning to the international observers, I would like to say that there are several views already. The views are very realistic and useful for us, but there were incidents, for example two international observers distributed leaflets supporting Bunich. This is inadmissible. We found out that the LDPR electoral association made an application on their behalf and we gave them accreditation cards at the LDPR's request. Of course we stripped such people of accreditation and say directly that Russia cannot tolerate either interference in its internal affairs or disrespect for its citizens. This is inadmissible. So on the one hand we are grateful to the vast, great majority of the international observers' corps and thank them and hope for further cooperation, but at the same time there are individual excesses, which we do not want."

Asked what lessons had been learned from these elections, Ryabov states: "First of all, electoral commissions and polling stations are not properly equipped." Commenting on the great variety of ballot boxes, Ryabov adds that simple, functional, and cheap equipment is needed, which can be used time and again.

Asked whom he voted for, Ryabov answers: "Now that the elections have passed, everyone can speak if they want to. I voted for Russia is Our Home because I voted for stability and predictability. That is how I voted."

Ryabov concludes by saying the Central Electoral Commission is already preparing for the presidential elections.

New Parliament, Presidential Elections Discussed

LD1912092795 Moscow NTV in Russian 2100 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt][Correspondent] Viktor Borisyuk, a representative of the Analytical Directorate of the Presidential Administration, told us that the Kremlin expected that the division of political forces in the Duma would be roughly as the Central Electoral Commission announced today. The only thing the Kremlin got wrong was that it did not reckon on the defeat of the Congress of Russian Communities. The authorities take what is at least an ironic attitude towards the statement by Gennadiy Zyuganov that the Communist faction would be the biggest faction in the new Duma.

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[Viktor Borisyuk, deputy head of the Analytical Directorate of the Presidential Administrationd] That isn't a victory. That isn't a victory. It's a defeat. I'm deeply convinced of this because a party, a bloc of political forces which said that the people was going hungry, was not receiving what it should, that is to say, it seemed to hold all the cards, and yet it got just 20 per cent, that is not a victory, that is not a victory. With cards like that they should have got 40, 50, 52, 53, 56 percent, no less, no less than that. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] The Analytical Directorate of the Presidential Administration doesn't think that the election results will affect the course of the reforms, since within the framework of the present constitution, the State Duma is an extremely amorphous formation. That is understood both in Russia and in the West. [passage omitted] The Kremlin regarded the elections seriously as a dress rehearsal for the election of the president next year.

[Viktor Borisyuk] I am absolutely sure that there are no petty concerns in the Kremlin. The Kremlin is preoccupied with the presidential elections. That is a serious campaign. That is appealing to the people. That must be arranged. Lessons must be learned from mistakes, including from those made in this campaign, and there were very many, very many by all parties, by all blocs, and I hope that the team which will be created towards the presidential elections will take account of all these mistakes. [passage omitted]

[Sergey Markov, Carnegie Fund] The victory of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation bears witness to the fact that reforms have not yet won in our country. They have not yet ended successfully and the population is suffering too much from the course of these reforms and by voting for the Communist Party it is sending its request to the leaders: "please, think about the big problems you are facing, but think about our small problems, too."

[Passage omitted] Aleksandr Sobyanin, who was dismissed from the strategy fund after the last elections for accusing the authorities of falsifying the election results, claims that it is not possible to count on the absolutely honest election of candidates.

[Aleksandr Sobyanin, head of special group of experts for investigating the elections, captioned] Over these past two years, the executive authorities in the localities have grown bolder. All the falsifications which happened two years ago have gone unpunished, and have not been investigated. A large number of local elections have taken place since then and no measures have been taken although in many instances the violations have been blatant. It would be very difficult to expect that the present parliamentary elections would be held in an honest way. An intensive struggle was waged. A number of deputies who are experts put forward draft laws, including an important draft law on public monitoring [kontrol]. The Duma voted on that draft law ten times but it wasn't adopted. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] In the opinion of Aleksandr Sobyanin, the composition of the new Duma won't differ essentially from the previous one. Communists and nationalists will represent half of the party deputies, and democrats of various hues the other half. This correlation of forces suits the Kremlin down to the ground.

[Aleksandr Sobyanin] Everything will be decided by minor fluctuations by the center. The center is quite a small one but when that center votes with the left-wing or nationalist parties we will all shudder again, and in rare instances when it votes with the democrats, we will be thankful that the Duma is not bad through and through.

[Correspondent] Evidently, the role of the center could be occupied by the leaders of parties and movements which got into the Duma in simple-majority constituencies, whose associations did not overcome the five percent barrier. The new Duma cannot ignore their opinion.

[Irina Khakamada, Common Cause, captioned] In the first place, every step must be supported to put an end to the Chechen conflict. Then all good laws which have already been adopted in three readings should be given financial support. If the president doesn't sign them, the veto should be overcome. There must be continuity, otherwise what happens? We did very serious things there and will all that be over now?

[Eduard Vorobyev, Democratic Choice of Russia, captioned] We'll hope that we'll find a common language with Generals [Aleksandr] Lebed and [Boris] Gromov and others, including those who taught me, with military leaders who might get into the State Duma, and that we'll find a common language with them and that we'll find the optimum content for our reforms so that the armed forces do not remain as they are.

[Sergey Kovalev, Democratic Choice of Russia, captioned] The Duma will be difficult, and because of that not very capable of work, evidently, but, in the final result, Russia will become a democratic state. [passage omitted]

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Left's Success in 'Rehearsal' for Presidential Poll Hailed

MM1912114595 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 19 Dec 95 p 1

[Article by political observer Aleksandr Bykovskiy under the rubric "View of Events: Tuesday to Tuesday": "Left-Wingers Win Dress Rehearsal"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A surprising phenomenon occurred in Moscow last Sunday [17 December]. In the afternoon there was a sudden thunderclap and flash of lightning. But neither this unusual natural cataclysm in December nor the ensuing heavy snowfall could prevent Muscovites, like voters in other regions, from doing their constitutional duty and electing State Duma deputies.

The elections took place in a businesslike, calm atmosphere. The turnout, primarily in the countryside, was very high. Thus at certain polling places voters even had to wait in line. The reason for that was very trivial: The size of the electoral commissions had been cut owing to lack of money, which, incidentally, also made it difficult to count the results of the vote.

However, even today the Communist Party of the Russian Federation can be said to have won a convincing election victory. Without having the opportunity to conduct an extensive advertising campaign on the eve of the elections it nevertheless managed to appeal to voters with its simple, clear slogans. What is more, the Communist Party has the most developed organizational structure of all Russia's existing parties and the most devoted, loyal supporters. The Communists' success in the parliamentary elections graphically illustrates the total breakdown of the policy pursued by the so-called Russian reformers. As in December 1993 Russian citizens have now flatly rejected the authorities' plans to build unbridled capitalism in Russia, totally oriented to the West. And you feel proud for the Russian people, who voted so resolutely and adamantly against the collapse and ruin of the Fatherland.

The pro-government mass media will probably literally wail at the Communists' success. They will say we are turning back the clock, returning to the past. However, it is clear to any unbiased person that such claims are mere speculation. Even the ancients said that you cannot step in the same river twice. And you cannot bring back the past, no matter what it was like. Russia's future is linked with reforms, but reforms for the good of rather than to the detriment of the people.

It is because the present government totally fails to recognize this difficult truth that the "Russia Is Our Home" [NDR] electoral association led by Premier V. Chernomyrdin made a fairly modest showing in these elections. Neither the extremely high-powered advertising campaign, nor the visit paid to Russia at the request of "Our Home" by a well-known Western model, nor the calls from popular actors to vote for the professional qualities of Viktor Stepanovich and his team helped them secure a dominant position in the Duma. In effect the NDR suffered a major election defeat since it now depends — as it did before, moreover — on the goodwill of not voters but the president. But there need be no doubt that the head of state will in the very near future carry out certain government reshuffles. In my view, the first candidate for departure from the government is incumbent Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev, whose pro-Western foreign policy renders him unacceptable to both left-wingers and right-wingers. I do not rule out the idea that as the next presidential elections approach the premier himself may also find himself in a "shaky position."

That is understandable. December 17 showed that the only serious rival to a single candidate for left-wing forces in the presidential elections will be B. Yeltsin himself, although he said last Sunday that he will only announce his plans regarding another presidential term in February. Any other "democratic" candidate like G. Yavlinskiy and so on and so forth will suffer a crushing defeat. Moreover, even the present head of state only has a slim chance. Therefore his instinct for political self-preservation will obviously prompt Boris Nikolayevich to decide to replace the premier in order not to associate himself with the lamentable results of the present government's activity.

Last Sunday also showed that all is not going well on the left either. Left-wing forces would have been even more successful had they acted as a united front. However, the leaders' personal ambitions hampered unification. Therefore although left-wingers won the dress rehearsal for the coming presidential elections, the fate of Russia and its future development depends to a decisive extent on whether left-wing, patriotic forces are able to field a single Russian presidential candidate. And only after the presidential elections will it be possible to say whether left-wing forces have taken advantage of the exceptionally favorable opportunities afforded by the 17 December 1995 vote.

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Voters Wanted To Give Authorities 'Slap in Face'

MM1912112195 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Dec 95 p 1

[Article by Vasiliy Golovin: "What Kind of Bolshevik Is It Climbing Back Onto the Armored Car?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] So the elections have taken place. Russia woke up and voted. With its hands, heads, or some other place — but not with its feet. And that is important.

You might say that millions of Russians went to vote concerned about the future. They can see the light at the end of the tunnel. They want freedom — and they have already gotten something, which Zyuganov would be unlikely to dispute. They want to be comfortable — and some are entirely satisfied already. To live in a country where the boorishness and sterile grayness of the unelected no longer reign — most of the parties and movements agree this is what they want.

But an even greater number of Russians voted for another reason — as a protest. Two years ago, when voting for Zhirinovskiy, they said "no," and so today millions of hands were directed by one thought, one wish: to give the authorities a slap in the face. The reforms have not saved them from the hardships of life. And everything that these people were able to say to the authorities, who had put them in this position, they said on 17 December. They are hardly relying on the promises of those who offer them tomorrow the old social guarantees, tranquillity, and a relatively troublefree life. But then the main irritation, the main question was directed toward those who had at least some levers in their hands, and not microphones.

That is not to say that the authorities did not realize this. In the past two years they have managed to do something, the signs of recovery were there. But then came... Chechnya! The tragic, criminal error of December 1994 dashed all hopes. And this is possibly one of the main lessons. The war in Afghanistan swept away the old communist nomenklatura regime. The war in Chechnya deprived Russia of the opportunity to move forward as purposefully as Japan, Germany, and others states once were able to do.

The new elections highlight an old disease — the democrats' cult of leadership. So they have learned nothing. The ambitions of Yavlinskiy, Gaydar, Lysenko, and the Fedorovs turned out to be irrepressible. A modest success means defeat for some of them in current conditions. Only by uniting could they compete impressively with the Communists. Again it did not work out.

The Communists' success was expected, it was predicted. It appears all the countries of the former socialist camp have been through this. But our Communists are made of special stuff. At numerous election meetings with business people Gennadiy Zyuganov gave assurances that today's Communists are not the same as yesterday's. But are these assurances solid or hollow? Will Zyuganov the victor move in the direction of orthodox ideology? If it were just a matter of Zyuganov the deputy, then no matter. But for 24 hours now many have been seeing Zyuganov as president. Is a new specter of communism abroad in Russia?

Be that as it may, the Russian elections have taken place and have been deemed democratic by the world community. They are even prepared to have us in the Council of Europe. Well, we have earned it. But what about everything else?

CPRF, LDPR Benefit From Protest Vote

MM1812212495 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Dec 95 pp 1, 2

[Article by Otto Latsis: "The 1995 Elections Have Demonstrated That Russia Does Not Want Abrupt Changes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Let us wait a while before passing judgment on the new membership of parliament: The well-known imperfections in the electoral law (on which the old Duma insisted in spite of the president's proposals) are leading to a situation where its membership will far from precisely reflect the voters' will. Thus, a good third of votes cast for parties not clearing the 5 percent hurdle, will be distributed among those for whom these votes were certainly not intended. On the other hand, we do not yet know what party representation there will be among the membership of the other half of the Duma that is elected from territorial districts. Let us pause a little as regards the Duma's membership. Let us try to assess what policy the majority of voters want.

Let us first of all compare the results of voting on party lists in 1993 with those of today (which are, it is true to say, incomplete and strictly preliminary — we only have those known to us at the time of writing of this piece on the morning of 18 December). First, you are struck by the major failure of the former favorites — the Zhirinovskiyites, which have lost over half of their support (11.2 percent have voted for them in the election compared to 22.9 percent). Second, by the major losses of "Russia's Choice," which was back then in second place in terms of its proportion of the vote (4.8 percent compared to 15.5 percent). Third, by the significant progress of the Zyuganovites, which were then in third

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place but have now climbed to first place (22 percent compared to 12.4 percent). "Yabloko"s' influence has increased somewhat (from 7.8 to 8.4 percent), allowing this bloc to rise from sixth to fourth place.

You will, however, get a fuller picture if you examine the change not only in the position of individual parties but also of broader political groupings. In the previous Duma, the left wing (first and foremost the direct successors of the CPSU) were represented by the communists and agrarians. All in all they picked up 20.4 percent of the vote then as opposed to 25.3 percent today. True, the position of the most extreme party of social revanche — "Working Russia," which gained 4.3 percent of the vote — has strengthened. On the other hand, "Women of Russia" — a party which was also formed mainly by the CPSU's successors — has now picked up only 4.5 percent of the vote compared to 8.1 percent.

Let us now stop making left- and right-wing divisions and try to assess another grouping: the voters who do not support one or other improvement of the reforms policy but a complete review of the principles of the entire policy. I am talking here not about parties but about voters, because the actual policies of several parties are significantly different than the image of them they present to the voters. But what is actually in question at the moment is the mandate the voters are giving their elected representatives today — we will assess its implementation later. Apart from the communists and post-communists of various hues, the Zhirinovskiyites undoubtedly belong to the category of the "parties of abrupt change" (we will classify them together under this heading very provisionally). Although they cannot in any way be considered as left-wing. Viewing this from a certain angle, there are a number of reasons for regarding them as a single category together with the communists. Both the former and the latter are first and foremost parties of great-power patriotism. They voted in an identical manner in the previous Duma on the majority of critical issues. It is also worth noting that the night after the elections, in response to Yevgeniy Kiselev's persistent questioning on the program "Itogi," Gennadiy Zyuganov did not make a categorical statement about the impossibility of forming a bloc with the Zhirinovskiyites in the new Duma. What combined percentage of the vote do these parties have? The LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia], the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation], and the Agrarians had a total of 43.3 percent of the vote in 1993. Now, even if we add "Working Russia"s' votes to their total, they only get 40.8 percent.

There is an obvious conclusion to be drawn about the voters' general feelings. The majority of those who voted in the election do not want abrupt changes, they want a steady improvement of policies within the framework of the present economic and political system. This majority appears even more impressive if you take into consideration the 35 percent of voters who did not vote in the election (the logic itself of nonparticipation bears witness to an indifference to the possibility of change). The influence of the "parties of abrupt change" has as a whole not increased but decreased. The election's most significant result is the redistribution of votes within this group as well as between the remaining parties. Of course, the suggestions about the nature and causes of such a redistribution that can already be stated now, require sociological verification.

What seems to be most likely is that the Anpilovite communists have increased their influence at the expense of those Zyuganovite communists who do not like Gennadiy Zyuganov's tendency to hedge his bets in an attempt to combine the advantages of being a respectable parliamentary party with the dividends that the shameless social demagoguery of "left-wing" groupings brings.

It is equally likely that the Zyuganovites in turn gained what the agrarians, and perhaps in part "Women of Russia," lost. The agrarians' lack of success is to be expected: What is the point of voting for what is effectively a section of the communist party when you can vote for the communist party itself? What is more, the voter finds it difficult to understand how they can combine rhetoric that is absolutely opposed to the government with a wide representation within it. You also have to think that the endless stories about the trillions "obtained" by the agrarians for the peasants on a regular basis which have never reached them, have also gotten on the voters' nerves.

The following question is, however, interesting: To whom did the 11-12 percent of voters lost by the Zhirinovskiyites defect? You would think that there should be a real gulf between the supporters of Zhirinovskiy, who has called himself a national socialist, and the communists' supporters. But even an analysis of the results of the last elections showed that it was not only people who shared Zhirinovskiy's bizarre ideas that voted for him. It was actually the preposterousness of these ideas that attracted those who were looking for an opportunity not so much to register their support for him but to protest that which they did not like in the authorities' policies. At that time they did not register their dissatisfaction by voting for the communists as the age of communist rule was still too close and the perception of them as the party of power was too fresh. Now this memory has faded and Vladimir Volfovich has in turn begun to get on people's nerves. Even in the preelection

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opinion polls signs were appearing of a section of former LDPR voters defecting to the communists. Should Gennadiy Zyuganov be congratulated on picking them up? Perhaps you ought to ask him [yemu vidneye].

The Zyuganovites' success is undoubtedly caused by two important factors. First, general disappointment in the authorities' policies, caused by their many mistakes over the last two years. The hasty, cruel, and unsuccessful use of force in Chechnya was the most unforgivable departure from the general policy of democratic reform, which could not have happened without leaving its mark. Doubtless, the abandonment by the government of Viktor Chernomyrdin of principles of market policy and the policy of financial stabilization in 1993-1994, which resulted in "black Tuesday" and the ensuing painful decreases in the Russians' standard of living, also played part here. Another reason for the communists' success is without doubt their highly sophisticated social demagoguery. The party whose very formation in 1990 was the first step toward Russia's independence and consequently a decisive step toward the USSR's collapse, has managed to portray itself as the main opponent of this collapse, and its opponents as those most to blame for it. The party which declares itself to be the main successor of the CPSU, whose rule destroyed the country's economy, has managed to pass off those who set about rebuilding the country on a new foundation as the culprits for its collapse.

To conclude our discussion of the changes in the left wing, I will point out one thing: The expected sensational success of the Congress of Russian Communities of Yuriy Skokov, Aleksandr Lebed, and Sergey Glazyev, has not come about. The left-of-center niche in the Russian political spectrum still remains empty. The practical consequence of this is one incontrovertible fact: The Zyuganovites have failed to find a powerful potential ally for the future political struggle, first and foremost for the presidential race. The previous situation still holds good: Boris Yeltsin has frittered away a significant amount of his former political capital, but there is no clear favorite among his opponents.

On the other wing, one should first of all point out the appearance of Svyatoslav Fedorov's Party of Working People's Self-Government as an influential new political force. The support by many voters for a party which has in no uncertain terms said that it is in favor of radical reforms, only without the many errors of the current authorities, is very characteristic.

In analyzing the reasons for around 10 percent of voters abandoning Yegor Gaydar's "Russia's Democratic Choice", we should not forget that a significant new force has appeared on the political scene — Viktor Chernomyrdin's "Russia Is Our Home." Those voters who by definition prefer the party of power as a guarantor of the stability of the current system and current policies, defected from "Democratic Choice" to "Our Home." We should also take into consideration the de facto split of the former "Russia's Choice," from which Boris Fedorov's "Forward Russia!" bloc emerged. Voters who cast their votes for him, doubtless remain supporters of market and democratic reforms.

Let us also remember one other thing. In setting about his radical reform, Yegor Gaydar said that the first government of the reforms will most likely last two to three months, and that it is only kamikaze governments that will accomplish the supremely difficult and socially necessary task of taking the first unpopular steps, and then give way to someone who will be able to continue the reforms policy. It is today already possible to evaluate these predictions (which no one disputed at the time) in historical terms. Our conclusion is basically that the citizens of Russia have turned out to be far wiser than the politicians — who feared the blind rage of their fellow citizens — supposed. Let no one expect to exploit the electorate's political blindness: It is not so easy to befuddle their minds.

NDR, LDPR, Rybkin Bloc Spent Most on TV Advertising

LD1812200395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1827 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 18 (Interfax) — Our Home Is Russia (NDR), Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR) and Ivan Rybkin's Bloc spent most money on TV advertising, director of the European Mass Media Institute Prof. Brend-Peter Lange told a press conference in Moscow Monday.

The NDR bought some 35 percent of total advertising time on the Public Russian Television (ORT) and about six more hours on other channels, he said.

According to Lange, Democratic Choice of Russia bought another 35 percent of ORT advertising time. "The distribution of advertising time on other TV channels was more uniform," he added.

Institute officials said the NDR, LDPR and Ivan Rybkin's Bloc had obviously exceeded their financial limits and it would be right to check their financial sources.

They also doubted that the financial conditions of various political associations were equal.

At the same time, the experts said that ORT discriminated against opposition parties such as the LDPR and the Communist Party of Russia (CPRF), and often showed them negatively.

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Analyst: Election TV Campaigning 'Ineffective'

LD1812100195 Moscow INFORMATSIONNOYE AGENTSTVO EKHO MOSKVY in Russian 0910 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [no dateline as received] — "One of the lessons of the election campaign is that the television advertising by parties and movements has turned out to be extremely ineffective," Mark Urnov, head of the Russian president's analytical center, said in an interview to Ekho Moskvy radio station.

"Television has become like our planned national economy: huge sums of money were poured in, to nil effect — or rather, destructive effect." "In new political campaigns, many political parties and movements will have to rethink their attitude to advertising in general and to television in particular," Urnov believes.

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Moldova, Belarus Ministers View Russian Elections

AU1812215095 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 2055 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, December 18 (INFOTAG) — The Moldovan Minister of Defense, Division General Pavel Creanga, and his Belarussian counterpart, Lieutenant General Leonid Maltsaw, signed a package of agreements on cooperation in Chisinau today. These are protocols on railway transportation, on cooperation in repairing armaments and military machinery and vehicles, and the 1996 Cooperation Plan. These documents add to the basic Agreement on cooperation signed last June, and reflect both countries' striving to a mutually beneficial interaction, the ministers pointed at today's press conference after the signing ceremony. The 1996 Cooperation Plan envisages reciprocal visits of military delegations, exchanging expert groups and military information, cooperation in logistics and armaments repair, General Creanga said. The Belarussian Minister pointed out a non-traditional approach which Moldova demonstrates in building its armed forces, and the original ways it uses in solving emerging military problems.

The Russian parliamentary election results should not lead to USSR restoration, the Moldovan and Belarussian Defense Ministers stated at today's press conference. When your correspondent asked the ministers how they would like a possibility to find themselves serving again in one and the same Soviet Armed Forces one fine day, they smiled and replied that both Moldova and Belarus are for economic cooperation in the CIS frames, which should not infringe on their independence and sovereignty. "The December 17 elections and their results are the internal affair of the Russian Federation, which should not affect political relations between former Soviet Union republics. The USSR restoration idea should be given up, as it is fraught with confrontation, including armed one, between the former Soviet republics," Pavel Creanga said. Concerning cooperation with NATO and the North Atlantic expansion to the East, both ministers stressed their countries were cooperating with NATO only in the framework of the Partnership for Peace Program. Moldova was one of the first former Soviet Union republics to have joined it, and Belarus — in January 1995. "Belarus is against NATO expansion to the East. All its efforts should be aimed at reducing confrontation in the world. Even talks about the NATO expansion resulted in aggravation of the confrontation. Hence, it is premature yet to speak about it. Do not forget that the Soviet population had been subject to extensive brainwashing since 1949 that NATO was an enemy. You cannot change everything instantly for the people to believe that NATO is a friend. This needs time," Leonid Maltsaw said. "President Snegur already declared that Moldova, in principle, has no objections to the NATO expansion. However, the interests of all countries, including Russia, should be taken into account," Pavel Creanga stressed. Answering a question about the Russian troops in Dniester, the Belarussian Minister of Defense said this was a Moldovan internal affair. There are still two Russian strategic-purpose missile regiments deployed on the Belarussian territory, which will be removed by the end of 1996, as envisaged by accords signed between Minsk and Moscow, he explained.

Three Central Asia States To Stiffen Regional Security

LD1812190995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1711 GMT 18 Dec 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The presidents of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan met in southern Kazakhstan to discuss how the five-year economic integration plan they adopted in April as well as related investment projects were being implemented. They also decided to increase the Central Asia Bank's nominal capital from $5 million to $9 million, Kazakh spokesman Dulat Kuanyshev told INTERFAX.

He said the council of the three presidents set up a council of defense ministers in addition to a similar council of foreign ministers established before. He said the defense ministers' council would tackle regional security and common defenses.

The three presidents also appealed to the UN Secretary General to consider the question of forming a UN-sponsored peacekeeping battalion as a reserve force to be deployed on Kazakhstan's southern border with Uzbekistan.

Kuanyshev said this could be used even in Bosnia and other troublespots rather than to maintain stability in Tajikistan, the area of responsibility by a CIS peacekeeping force.

Speaking afterwards, the three presidents expressed the hope that pro-democracy forces would win in Russia's general election and there could be no reversal of reforms there. They spelt out support for policies pursued by President Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin.

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ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 19 Dec

LD1912073995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0732 GMT 19 Dec 95

["Press Review" — ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW December 19 (ITAR-TASS) — Today's Russian newspapers lively comment on the preliminary resutls of Sunday's elections to the State Duma, the Lower House of the Russian parliament.

TRUD on voter turnout.

Russia has made "a no easy choice", writes the newspaper, emphasising that the polling involved 64.95 percent of the electorate. Those who predicted political passivity of citizens have miscalculated, the newspaper observes.

IZVESTIYA on the Communists' electoral success.

"Elections-95 have shown: Russia does not want abrupt changes" is the headline of a commentary by the newspaper's political news analyst Otto Lacis.

The commentator observes that the supporters of "parties advocating abrupt changes" have failed to win the elections while the fact that 35 percent of the electorate did not go to the polls is indicative of their indifference to the possibility of changes in the current policy.

Lacis, analysing the Communists' electoral success, explains it primarily by two essential circumstances: general disillusionment with the policy of the authorticis that made a number of errors, particularly the war in Chechnya, and departures from the market policy principles and the financial stabillisation course, which led to a decline in the living standards of people in Russia.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA on the triumph of democracy.

"The chief result of the elections is that democracy has triumphed. Russia had enough common sense to prevent sliding down to a revolutionary situation. Will the new Duma and the Presidential team have enough of common sense, too?"

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, publishing the preliminary results of the Parliamentary elections, maintains that "society is yet to evaluate its choice".

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA writes that "every person in Russia has made his or her choice. The common choice is for Russia to become a good home for all its sons and daughters".

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA points out that at the December 17 elections the people said their "weighty word, issuing a mandate of trust, primarily to the communists, patriots and doers".

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on the predictability of the Communsits' electoral win.

The newspaper is of the opinion that "the Communists' electoral success was expected and predicted. All the countries of the former Socialist camp seem to have experienced the same. At numerous electioneering meetings with business people, Gennady Zyuganov assured them that the present-day Communists differ from those of yesterday. But are those assurances the essense or disguise?"

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on voter turnout.

The newspaper points out that "the activity of voters surpassed all expectations". Numerous forecasts about voter turnout were made on the eve of the polling, but they all proved wrong, for even the most optimistic experts could not conceive of such a large number of people going to the polls, the newspaper points out.

PRAVDA analyses preliminary results of the Duma elections.

The newspaper draws two conclusions: firstly, the new parliament will be sufficiently representative to comprise all the main political colours of society, and, secondly, the present Russian Cabinet headed by Viktor Chernomyrdin is a minority government.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI on the Russian Merchant Marine's financial difficulties.

"It may the so happen that we shall mark the tercentenary of the Russian fleet — without merchant vessels" is an unexpected conclusion drawn by the newspaper's correspondent Natalia Vdovina.

"The Russian Merchant Marine has 50 per cent less ships than five years ago. The average service length of the Russian fleet ships is 19 years, whereas that in the West is 12 years. In all, the ships remain in service for about 20 years. So, in the coming years, practically the entire Merchant Marine will have to be written off", Vdovina writes.

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First Group of 12 Officers Leaves for Bosnia

LD1812141695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1320 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 18 (INTERFAX) — The first group of 12 Russian officers left for Bosnia Monday [18 December], a spokesman for the Defense Ministry told INTERFAX.

He said the task of the reconnaissance party of the Air-Borne Force Staff led by Maj. Gen. Nikolay Staskov is to agree on the area of deploying the Russian peacekeeping brigade. It should also define the sites for stationing the personnel and storing the materiel.

Staskov's group should organize the traffic control service at Tuzla airport and draw the routes for the movements of Russian peacekeepers.

The Russian brigade will be deployed in an area controlled by Bosnian Serbs to the east of Posavina corridor and interact with the U.S. first armored division in the international operation in the Balkans.

The Defense Ministry said the brigade was set up on the basis of the 106th airborne division.

Chernomyrdin 'Pleased' With Election Results

LD1812181995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1811 GMT 18 Dec 95

[By Artem Protasovskiy]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 18 (ITAR-TASS) — Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin said he is "pleased with the results of elections to the State Duma" held in Russia on December 17.

Chernomyrdin, who is the leader of the Russia Is Our Home bloc, stressed that "we have never said that we expected supernatural results." All the more so because Russia Is Our Home is the only movement which "has been under the fire of criticism of practically all forces all this time."

He said it is not a failure that Russia Is Our Home (NDR) came in third because "the Communist Party has been around for a long time, while we only several months and 10 per cent of votes over such a period is not bad."

At the same time, he noted that the question of NDR's allies in a new Duma will be decided after the final results of voting have been announced.

The premier said his bloc will soon start developing its tactics of cooperation with other democratic factions, including Russia's Democratic Choice and Women of Russia.

Speaking about possible personnel changes in the government, Chernomyrdin said "everything flows and everything changes," adding that "the government is a living organism."

Foreign Ministry: No Policy Change Despite Elections

LD1812173495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1633 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 18 (INTERFAX) — A high-ranking Russian diplomat told INTERFAX today that the Foreign Ministry thought the State Duma elections' outcome or Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's possible resignation would not radically change the country's foreign policy.

Under the constitution, Russia's foreign policy is determined by the president, the diplomat said. "Thus, we can speak about a stable and balanced foreign policy not subject to influence of momentous factors," he said.

The diplomat declined to say who could replace Kozyrev as the foreign minister. According to early election returns, Kozyrev won the Duma elections in Murmansk's constituency 116 and could soon tender his resignation. "To appoint the foreign minister is also in the discretionary authority of the president," the same source said.

The diplomat said that among potential candidates most often named for foreign minister were Russian presidential adviser for international issues Dmitriy Ryurikov, Kozyrev's First Deputy Igor Ivanov and Kozyrev's two former deputies: Russian Ambassador in London Anatoliy Adamishin and Russian Ambassador in Brussels Vitaliy Churkin.

"One could not rule out the possibility of the president appointing to the foreign minister a non-professional, for example Federation Council Vladimir Shumeyko or the present State Duma's Chairman Ivan Rybkin," the diplomat said. He also said he believed that the Ivan Rybkin's bloc would fail to overcome the 5 percent threshold in the Duma elections.

The diplomat said it might take the president some time to make a final choice and during this period the Foreign Ministry could be led by acting foreign minister.

"Nearly any of Kozyrev's present deputies may be named to the acting foreign minister," the diplomat said.

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Kwasniewski Election Is 'Boon for Both Countries'

MM1812095695 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Dec 95 p 4

[Warsaw-datelined interview with Yuriy Kashlev, Russia's ambassador to Poland, by Leonid Kornilov; date not given: "People Who Understand Russian Have Returned To Power: What Can Moscow Expect from Kwasniewski's Poland?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Aleksander Kwasniewski will be a good president, a better one than Lech Walesa, according to 55 percent of Poles polled. Only 13 percent — mainly the intelligentsia living in big cities — think he will be a bad one.

When, on Saturday evening, Poland's Supreme Court delivered its verdict confirming the legality of Aleksander Kwasniewski's election, a crowd assembled in front of the court building, shouting "Down with the Freemasons!" "Clear off to Israel, Kwasniewski!" and "Death to the commune!" Many in the crowd were sobbing in disappointment at the court ruling. But they were clearly not in the majority.

What are the Russian diplomatic service's feelings as it bids farewell to the Walesa era, and what can it expect from Kwasniewski's Poland? I spoke about this to Yuriy Kashlev, Russia's ambassador in Warsaw.

[Kornilov] What kind of personal relations have you, Russia's ambassador, had with Lech Walesa? Do you not regret his ceasing to be president?

[Kashlev] The words "regret" or "not regret" are inappropriate here — we do not interfere in Poland's internal affairs, nor do we elect Poland's president. In my opinion, Walesa underwent a sea change, he grew up during his years at the Belweder and acquired the gravitas and experience of a statesman. But what specially pleased me was his sense of humor and picturesque language. You could say things with him which would be inconceivable with other presidents. For example, when I paid my first visit to him, I showed him a photograph in which he is holding a fishing rod, with me standing alongside and my dog in between us. Walesa was very surprised and said that he could not remember the meeting. But when I admitted that the photograph was taken with a lifelike model of him, which was set up in a park to collect donations for a children's fund, he roared with laughter. With another president such jokes at your first meeting could end up no laughing matter at all.

At the same time it has to be admitted that Lech Walesa often made statements and moves based on misapprehension. For example, his refusal to come to our capital for the 50th victory anniversary amazed not just Russians but also the majority of Poles too because it was not thought through.

The election of Aleksandr Kwasniewski as president constitutes a major event for Poland in recent years. It will also affect foreign policy, including relations with Russia. It was chiefly the personality of Kwasniewski as a man far superior to Lech Walesa in terms of professional attributes and intellect which carried the day.

[Kornilov] Intellect?

[Kashlev] That is obvious. Kwasniewski's individual qualities — dynamism, youth, oratorical skills, pragmatism, and modern image — carried the day. He conducted a brilliant election campaign in a very effective, almost American style, visiting 47 of the 49 voivodships and, it seems, 200-odd cities. His program was attractive because of its idea of enhancing people's social welfare. Kwasniewski beat 12 rivals and triumphed over the traditional thinking which Lech Walesa represented.

[Kornilov] People more often describe Walesa the politician as a nontraditionalist and say he is unpredictable. True, the actual process of his thinking, including the origin of unexpected decisions and various intrigues, are not, as a rule, visible to people.

[Kashlev] But it became visible! And the television debates and public duels between the two rivals played an enormous role here. They considerably weighted the scales in Kwasniewski's favor. People saw and heard a civilized, composed politician holding discussions with an overbearing rival unwilling to listen to anyone. When one debater stands head and shoulders above his adversary, hundreds of thousands of people who were reluctant to turn out to vote, do so and they vote for what they have seen with their own eyes.

[Kornilov] Many interpret Kwasniewski's election as a victory for the Communists. Do you agree?

[Kashlev] Some Polish and Russian journalists describe Kwasniewski as a post-Communist or even "the former leader of the Polish Communist youth league," which he never was. Such statements merely misinform people. Incidentally, the Polish communist party was disbanded six years ago with Kwasniewski's active involvement. In general, the opposition has shown that it does not know how to accept defeat gracefully. It challenged the results of the vote, alleging that the new president had misstated his educational achievements. Kwasniewski does not actually hold a master's degree, but he did pass all the exams at university. This might have had some significance if the contest had been between a corresponding member of an academy and a full-fledged

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academician, but the ex-president does not even seem to have had a secondary education.

[Kornilov] Will Warsaw's line toward Russia change?

[Kashlev] People have now entered office who have a better understanding of us than the former leadership in terms of our potential and way of thinking and who refrain from blowing up historical issues which act as a thorn in the flesh of Russian-Polish relations. When I handed President Yeltsin's congratulations message to Kwasniewski the day after his election, he immediately read it out aloud in wonderful Russian. They understand that we — Russia and the CIS — offer the most profitable and wide-ranging market to Poland today. From that standpoint, the left-wing forces' victory is a boon to both countries.

Grachev Comments on Talks With Norwegian Counterpart

MM1812125295 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Vadim Markushin: "Radpiation Background in Novaya Zemlya is Lower Than in Russian Defense Minister's Office"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 15 December the Russian and Norwegian defense ministers signed two agreements — on cooperation between the two military departments and on collaboration on environmental protection. This was the final point in the program of Norwegian Defense Minister Jorgen Kosmo's official visit to Russia.

Both agreements, the ministers told journalists, are general in nature. That is, they presuppose regular meetings of experts on specific questions and various additions and protocols — both in the sphere of cooperation in the defense sector and in respect of cooperation on environmental protection. According to Army General P. Grachev, the signed agreements testify to the strengthening of Russian-Norwegian relations, which will continue to grow and deepen. Including on a regional level — between the Russian Northern Fleet and forces in northern Norway.

The Russian defense minister noted that Moscow has an understanding attitude toward the concern of northern countries, including Norway, regarding the nuclear waste pollution of areas of the Kola Peninsula, Novaya Zemlya, and the ocean's waters which is associated with the operation of nuclear facilities and nuclear-powered submarines. This concern is being fueled by certain mass media which are misleading the public by distorting the crux of the matter. "I offer to meet with Minister J. Kosmo in summer anywhere in the area of Andreyev Bay, or to fly to Novaya Zemlya, taking roentgenometers and specialists.... But I say again: The radiation background in Novaya Zemlya is lower than in the Russian defense minister's office."

The defense ministers then answered journalists' questions.

Expressing his attitude toward the agreement on the settlement in Bosnia signed in Paris, the Russian defense minister noted that any peace agreement merits approval. But it must also be understood that any agreement can be either implemented or ignored. It is hard to predict how smoothly the Bosnian peace process will proceed. A multitude of situations could arise, especially during the first stage, when peacekeeping forces are being deployed and organizational and logistical measures are being carried out. We must be realists. It cannot be ruled out that the various extremist forces will prevent a settlement. It is therefore necessary to be ready to resort to methods of force to implement the signed agreement.

In connection with the deterioration in the situation in Chechnya the Russian Federation defense minister said that he cannot exclude the possibility of conducting full-scale combat operations. "The situation must be controlled by a combination of methods — by holding peace talks and, wherever the enemy oversteps the mark and attacks, by giving the necessary rebuff." The minister recalled that he had warned that the period from the start of the peace talks to the completion of the military part of the operation in Chechnya could turn into a bloodbath.

Russia To Repay Finland With Antiaircraft Systems

MK1912125495 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 16 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by Vladimir Sergeyev: "Russia Is Repaying Its Debts With Antiaircraft Systems. Finland Ready To Receive 'Buk-M1'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Finland's government has officially announced that it intends to buy "Buk-M1" antiaircraft systems from Russia. It will be recalled that Finland is Russia's partner of long standing in the area of military and technological cooperation. Finland has thus far given preference in rearming its Air Force to the U.S. F/A-18 aircraft rather than the Russian Mig-29 offered it. The government of Finland announced, however, that Russia will make deliveries of the "Buk-M1" antiaircraft system in the amount of 1 billion Finnish markkas.

This contract will be put into effect as early as next year to partially account for Russia's debt, inherited from the

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USSR (the debt totals 5.5 billion Finnish markkas). Finland has agreed to Russia's paying back the remainder with deliveries of these antiaircraft systems. The deal is unusual in that the "Buk-M1," the most sophisticated antiaircraft system, which passed all tests, has not yet been adopted by the Russian Armed Forces due to a lack of financing for its manufacture and purchase.

Sweden's interest in the Russian Mi-28 close fire support combat helicopter (with a cost of $15 million per unit) should not be overlooked. The helicopter has not entered service with the Russian Armed Forces, as it lost out in competition with the "Black Shark" — the Ka-50. The latter, by the way, was a great success at the "LIMA-95" arms exhibition, which just concluded in Malaysia. Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that as early as next year the Malaysian Armed Forces, in addition to the Russian MiG-2 they already operate, will receive Ka-50 helicopters, as well as T-72C tanks and 877I (Kilo) submarines, which evoked considerable interest at the recent exhibition.

Commission Backs Russia's Council of Europe Membership

LD1812180295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1633 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 18 (INTERFAX) — A senior Russian member of parliament has said the Political Commission of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly believes Russia can be given membership of the organization.

A resolution to that effect has been drafted for the commission's next sitting on Tuesday, INTERFAX learnt from Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the International Affairs Committee of the State Duma, Russia's lower house of parliament.

Lukin and the chairman of the International Affairs Committee of the Federation Council, the upper house, are due to attend the sitting in Zurich, Switzerland.

However, several days ago the European parliament passed a resolution urging the Council of Europe to link Russia's membership to "the restoration of human rights" in Chechnya, an official at the Duma's interparliamentary contacts department told INTERFAX. This could make Russia's admission to the organization more difficult, Duma experts believe.

Russia's membership bid is due to be considered by the Parliamentary Assembly on January 25-26, 1996.

Davydov: Paris Club Debt To Be Restructured

LD1812175495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1633 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 18 (INTERFAX) — An agreement on long-term restructuring of the Russian debt to the Paris Club of creditor countries will be signed before the presidential elections in Russia that are scheduled for June 16, 1996, Oleg Davydov, deputy prime minister and foreign economic relations minster, told INTERFAX.

Davydov believes that the signing is most likely to take place next May and the results of the parliamentary elections will have no effect on the talks with the official creditors or the contents of the documents or the time of its signing.

Davydov recalled that an understanding had been reached with the Paris Club member states to the effect that the $40 billion debt will be repaid in 25 years. The repayment proper will not start until 2002. Before that time only the interest will be paid.

Once an agreement with the Paris Club is signed, Davydov said, the debt inherited by Russia from the former Soviet Union will be completely restructured.

Davydov explained that the country's foreign debt estimated as $130 billion is made up chiefly by the need to repay the credits taken by the former USSR from member states of the Paris Club, member banks of the London Club and certain other countries and individuals.

Davydov believes that a global restructuring of Russia's debt on credits taken by the former USSR will give Moscow a breathing space and funds to carry out economic reforms, obtain an access to the world financial markets and improve the environment for foreign investments in the Russian economy.

An agreement on restructuring a debt totaling $25.5 billion was signed with the London Club last November.

According to Davydov, Moscow's rating on the securities market has significantly improved with the signing of an agreement with the London Club. In this light, he said, the Russian government decided to issue a $1 billion worth of Eurobonds in 1996.

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Moscow Clears 'One More Hurdle' in GATT Race

MK1612093395 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 13 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by Konstantin Levin: "Moscow Has Overcome One More Hurdle on the Way to Geneva"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On the eve of the parliamentary elections, the government has got hold of another trump card in its struggle to retain power. The second round of Geneva talks with the working group on admitting Russia into the GATT/WTO, which concluded successfully for the Russian delegation, strongly exemplifies the correctness of the current foreign economic tack — the country's consistent integration into the world economy, including admittance into the World Trade Organization. The present made by the Russian negotiators costs a lot — this time some of the WTO members, especially the United States, did all in their power in order to complicate Russia's procedure for joining the WTO.

The WTO headquarters is located in a building that does not appear to bode well — before World War II, it housed the League of Nations, whose fate, as is known, turned out to be ignominious. However, the notoriety of Geneva's Palace of Nations seems not to scare off states striving to join the major trading nations of the world, exercising control over up to 90 percent of world trade. The Russian Government is also determined — Oleg Davydov, deputy premier and minister of foreign economic relations, repeatedly mentioned Russia's readiness to join the WTO in the near future, stating that the negotiations were proceeding well. This summer, the Russian delegation to Geneva successfully passed the first exam — which came as quite a surprise even to the delegation itself — regarding the conformity of the Russian foreign trade regime with GATT/WTO norms. Thus, for instance, the information on foreign trade regulation that the Russian memorandum contained was described by the working group for admitting Russia into the WTO as quite exhaustive.

The second round of Geneva talks with the WTO working group, held from 4 to 7 December, completed the discussion of the Russian memorandum on the foreign trade regime in the area of commodities trading. Moreover, a first discussion was also held on the special addenda to the memorandum, covering problems of the protection of intellectual property rights, trade in services, and investment. However, the WTO member-countries (the working group for admitting Russia into the GATT/WTO formally comprises all member-states) reserved the right to resume a more detailed discussion of three major problems: the opportunity for state trading organizations to exist in Russia (denied by Moscow), import licensing, and financing foreign trade operations. Already at this point, however, they agree for the most part that Russian legislation is in conformity with WTO norms and rules pertaining to these areas of foreign trade regulation. It is another matter that when further discussing these problems, the Russian delegation ought to avoid making commitments that could restrict the implementation of protective measures in foreign trade. The Russian practice of licensing export and import operations, for instance, is currently applied to a limited range of commodities not contravening international trade rules. For all that, however, Russia is being forced to answer clearly the question of whether restrictive measures will be further applied in trade. A definitely negative answer will be perceived as a commitment, and, therefore, the room for maneuvering will be drastically restricted. This can and must be avoided, the more so as GATT-94 condemns not all quantitative restrictions, but only those beyond WTO requirements. Meanwhile, most important for the WTO is that the restrictive measures are not simply based on the influence of extraordinary circumstances and limited in time, but that they are applicable to all participants in the national market, both residents and nonresidents.

The latest Geneva talks also became an ordeal for the Russian delegation from a psychological viewpoint. There are no obvious opponents to Russia's joining the WTO, since world trade, especially in the field of raw materials, cannot be regulated without Russia's participation. It is another matter if Russia's admittance is arranged so that it will enter into a host of commitments not resulting from the GATT/WTO requirements proper. In this respect, those most eager are the Americans, who are interested in making the Russian market as open as possible for themselves while squeezing out European competitors. On the other hand, the EC is trying to somewhat rein in Russia's efforts to join the WTO, as it enjoys a more privileged position on the Russian market than the United States. Bilateral talks held in Geneva have unambiguously revealed that in the course of the tariff negotiations Russia is in for new difficulties. On the whole, however, the outcome of the second round of the Geneva talks proved successful for Russia, although the final judgment will be passed following the bilateral tariff talks.

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Trade With India Lost Due to 'Incompetence'

MM1812141595 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by Maksim Yusin: "Contract of the Century. Moscow Is Trying Desperately To Hang On to the Indian Market, Where It Once Had No Competition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Delhi and Moscow — For the first two years after the breakup of the Soviet Union Russian diplomacy pursued such a helpless and shortsighted policy in respect of India that it managed in a short space of time to lose positions that had taken decades to win and that had seemed unshakable. Asked how this was possible, diplomats at the Russian Embassy in Delhi spread their hands: There is no sensible explanation. Simply the extreme incompetence and unprofessionalism of the people who head the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

At the embassy I was told a story that happened three years ago, when the Russian deputy foreign minister responsible for Asian policy at the time was touring the countries of the region and even contrived not to fly to India, preferring to make a stopover in neighboring Nepal. The Indians were unable to forget the insult for a long time and breathed a sigh of relief only after the deputy minister left his post on being appointed ambassador to an Asian country. Andrey Kozyrev had not been to Delhi on an independent visit even once in four years. "Russian-Indian relations were going downhill. The impression was being created that India was being ostentatiously ignored. We were losing economic contracts, and the political dialogue was almost frozen. Only after Boris Yeltsin's visit in January 1993 did positive progress become apparent," Anvar Azimov, minister-counselor at the Russian Embassy, recalls.

But it has not been possible to regain the lost positions and evidently will not be possible in the foreseeable future. Commodity turnover between Moscow and Delhi, which reached $5.5 billion in 1990, fell fivefold in the space of three years (the situation started to improve only last year; in 1995 the volume of commodity turnover is set to approach $2 billion). Foreign competitors have begun to actively penetrate even the Indian arms market, which used to be dominated unconditionally by the Soviet military-industrial complex.

The Russian presence in India is diminishing before our eyes. The number of embassy staffers has been cut drastically. Moscow is not allocating funds either to renew the motor vehicle pool, which is falling into disrepair, or to hold receptions marking state holidays. The diplomats have to economize even on gasoline, 60 liters of which is allocated per vehicle per month. There are hardly any Russian newspaper correspondents left in Delhi, and in the new year there will be just two people left in the ITAR-TASS regional bureau, which used to employ 10.

In past years our specialists constructed 135 economic projects in India. The time has now come to modernize some of them, and to whom, if not the Russians, should this work have been entrusted, do you think? Alas, time after time the tenders announced by the Indians are being won by foreign companies, and hundreds of millions of dollars are sailing past us. The biggest disappointment was the competition to modernize the giant metallurgical combine in Bhilai, built by the Soviet Union back in the fifties. The tender was won by the Japanese, and the Indian side did everything possible to squeeze out the Russians, who were placed in an unequal position right from the start. For example, they were required to complete the work in the space of 27 months, while the Japanese were allowed six months more.

It is not a question of some deliberate anti-Russian policy. It is simply that in this case the Japanese and in many other cases the Americans and West Europeans skillfully promote their interests and, to put it simply, know who to bribe and how much to give. "This argument is frequently decisive in business with India. It is useless to be indignant, and you have to adapt to the existing conditions and abide by the rules of the game. For the umpteenth time we are let down by our own sluggishness and, frequently, simply by poverty. The Japanese or the Americans can easily find the funds to build a villa for the official on whom decisionmaking depends. But we can do so far from always," a Russian Embassy staffer complains.

Fortunately, Western competitors have not by any means succeeded in squeezing out the Russians throughout the sphere of military deliveries. Here we are in too privileged a position: Soviet hardware constituted and still constitutes the basis of the Indian armed forces. The only thing that the Indians traditionally do not purchase from us is small arms, and in other respects Russia's positions are very strong. Three-fourths of the aircraft, almost all the antiaircraft guns, most of the tanks and artillery systems, and a significant number of naval ships and submarines are Soviet made.

A contract is expected to be signed during the next few weeks, which the embassy calls nothing if not impressive. According to preliminary estimates, it is worth over $1 billion, while in the long term Russia could make $8-10 billion, embassy experts believe.

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The contract provides, first, for the modernization of 130 MiG-21 Bis aircraft equipped with French electronics. The first two will be modernized in Russia, and the rest at a specially modernized Indian plant. In time, Russian diplomats believe, this plant will be able to serve as many as 2,000 MiG's in the arsenals of not only India but also other states — primarily Vietnam and Near Eastern countries.

Another very important point in the contract concerns the delivery of Su-30 MK ground-attack aircraft (prior to this the only Russian aircraft in the arsenal of the Indian Air Force have been MiG's). The number of Su's that the Indians will receive is being kept secret. According to the figures in Delhi newspapers, we are talking of at least 100 ground-attack aircraft. To all appearances, however, this information does not entirely tally with reality. According to information from well-informed sources, the figure cited by Indian journalists must be reduced by a factor of 2.5.

The "contract of the century" also provides for deliveries of T-72S tanks, 152mm self-propelled howitzers, and Tunguska and S-300 antiaircraft missile systems. According to Anatoliy Dryukov, Russia's ambassador in Delhi, the contract's implementation will provide work for 800 Russian enterprises. In addition, talks are being held on the sale to India of the Black Sea Fleet's aircraft-carrying cruiser *Admiral Gorshkov*.

Returning to the sphere of nonmilitary economic cooperation, here too, after several years of losses and retreats, a contract has finally been outlined which could become one of the biggest in the history of Russian-Indian ties. I mean the construction by the Russians of Kudankulam [name as transliterated] Nuclear Power Station. The value of the contract is provisionally estimated at $2 billion. The only question now concerns the currency in which transactions will be conducted. The Russian Ministry of Finance is demanding that the whole sum be paid in dollars, while the Indians propose repaying half of the cost in hard convertible currency and half in clearing dollars. That is, in fact in Indian rupees, which Russia can use to buy commodities from India.

Despite major individual successes in the economic sphere, Russian diplomats are far from euphoric. They are not drawing up ambitious plans to win the Indian market. The task is far more modest — to hold on to it. "We must not quit India and abandon all we have built here. That would be tremendously stupid. True, we do not have enough money for anything now. But we must not live only for today. Tomorrow, when Russian industry is faced with the task of assimilating foreign markets, India with its population of almost 1 billion will provide unlimited prospects. We also should not forget that India is a potential economic giant of the 21st century. By the end of this century the rate of economic growth should stand at 10-12 percent per annum. This is one of the best indicators in the world. If we allow Russia to be squeezed out of India today, we will be committing a crime against our descendants," Anatoliy Dryukov is convinced.

PRC Embassy Against Official Russia-Taiwan Contacts

LD1812170795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1649 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 18 (ITAR-TASS) — A Chinese Embassy official in Moscow said on Monday China was "categorically against any official contacts between Russia and Taiwan," adding, however, that Beijing did not object to unofficial, economic and cultural ties between Moscow and Taipei.

Ye Jun commented upon a Moscow stay of Chen Shuibian [name as received], the Mayor of Taipei, who arrived here under a tourist visa as a private person.

The Chinese diplomat reminded that Russia had official relations solely with China, whereas Taiwan was one of Chinese provinces.

"We disapprove of any official contacts of the Moscow authorities with Taipei representatives. We hope that our stance will be taken into account by Moscow officials," Ye Jun said.

According to reports reaching here from Taipei, Chen intended to meet with his Moscow counterpart Yuriy Luzhkov, to discuss prospects for the establishment of twinned-city contacts between Taipei and Moscow, and with Finance Minister Vladimir Panskov.

The Russian Foreign Ministry denied any involvement in Chen's stay in Moscow and said the Taipei Mayor does not plan any official meetings in the Russian capital.

Seminar Supports DPRK Model for Korean Reunification

SK1912014295 Moscow Voice of Russia World Service in Korean 1200 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A roundtable conference was held in Moscow on the subject of the DPRK proposal for reunifying the North and the South through a confederal system and the position of the DPRK. The roundtable conference was sponsored by the Oriental Studies Institute under the Russian Academy of Sciences and

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the Russia-DPRK Friendship and Cultural Cooperation Association.

Participating in the conference were the scholars concerned with Korea, participants in the Korean Liberation War, activists of the Association, and reporters. Also participating in the conference were Son Song-pil, DPRK ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Russia and functionaries of the DPRK Embassy.

The Russian scholars supported the reunification formula by means of a confederal system which was put forth at the Sixth Congress of the Workers Party of Korea in 1980. The participants in the conference noted that Russia supports the idea of freely [chayuro] reunifying the North and the South by means of a confederal system.

The participants in the conference also discussed the relations between Russia and the DPRK.

Krylov: Russia Favors Single State in Cyprus

LD1512232595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2153 GMT 15 Dec 95

[By Yuriy Malinov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ATHENS, December 16 (ITAR-TASS) — Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Krylov, who wound up his official visits to Greece and Cyprus on Friday, expressed Russia's stand on the Cyprus problem.

"Russia considers that Cyprus should be a single state with no discrimination being practiced against any of its two communities," Krylov told TASS at the airport before leaving Athens for Moscow.

The main objective of his trip to Cyprus was to discuss ways to solve the problem, Krylov said.

"The circumstances of the Cyprus problem do not satisfy us. It practically stabilised two years ago at the lowest, most unfavourable level, in spite of a heap of U.N. resolutions. Various plans were put forward, the Security Council committed the Secretary general to presenting reports, etc.

"However, the situation did not improve. In the view of the fact that the Security Council will discuss prolongation of the term of the U.N. troops in Cyprus, we decides to discuss the issue of the Cyprus settlement with concerned parties, to give an initial stimulus to the process," the deputy minister said.

Moscow Willing To Test Plutonium Smuggled Into Munich

LD1812174895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1710 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 18 (INTERFAX) — Russia is prepared to take 300 grams of plutonium smuggled into Munich from Moscow in August 1994 to determine what country had manufactured it, Lev Ryabev, first deputy nuclear energy minister, told INTERFAX Monday [18 December].

Ryabev said that Russia has been prepared all along to do the testing but no official proposal to this effect has reached the ministry thus far.

Bernd Schmidbauer, German government's coordinator of special services, said at a recent news conference in Bonn that a proposal had been sent to Russia that it take the plutonium for testing in a container in which it was held.

German special services said in August 1994 that weapon grade plutonium-239 had been made in Russia and smuggled into Germany. Russian officials categorically denied these allegations because, they said, the control over nuclear materials is highly sophisticated in the country and no loss of them has been reported.

According to Ryabev, if Germany sends an official proposal, the plutonium could be sent to the Kurchatov Institute or the Russian Inorganic Chemistry Research Institute or the Physical Energy Institute or a federal nuclear center. "We are prepared for such cooperation," he said.

Yeltsin Backs St. Petersburg Bid To Host 2004 Olympics

LD1612123795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1223 GMT 16 Dec 95

[By Igor Bezrukavnikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 16 (ITAR-TASS) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin has signed a decree which mandates allocations of the state to St. Petersburg's preparation for the contest of cities to host 2004 Olympics.

Russian Sport Coordinating Committee chairman Shamil Tarpishchev said in an interview with ITAR-TASS that the presidential decree is a confirmation that sport remains a major line in Russia's social policy. St. Petersburg's chances to host the Olympics are pushed well up by the decree, Tarpishchev said.

The decree orders to the Russian government to draft, within four months, a programme for St. Petersburgs'

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preparation, fund it through tax credits and provide to the International Olympic Committee guarantees laid down in the Olympic charter.

Tarpishchev stressed that the Yeltsin's decree does not infringe on the rights of the Russian Olympic Committee which is to commend members of the organising committee to oversee the preparation for 2004 Olympics.

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Political Issues

CPRF's Success Makes Cabinet Reshuffle 'Inevitable'

MK1912125395 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 19 Dec 95 p 2

[Article by Elmar Murtazayev: "'Minor' Dismissals Ahead. Government Reshuffle Becomes Almost Inevitable"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Things started out not at all badly. Despite the projected success of the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation], members of the cabinet were almost sure the voting results would not have too great an impact on the future of the government itself. Addressing a press conference at the movement's headquarters yesterday, Russian Federation Premier and NDR [Russia Is Our Home] leader Viktor Chernomyrdin gave assurances that there will be neither "substantial turns" in the government's socioeconomic course nor considerable changes in its personnel. And the words of the president, who promised that he would under no circumstances depart from the course of reforms, seemed to have served as a good guarantee before the start [of voting]. It is true that both the head of state and the head of the Russian cabinet did not rule out the probability of changes in the composition of the government "called for by life" (Viktor Chernomyrdin) and the possible dependence of this sort of change upon the outcome of the election.

The tone for future statements was set. However, NDR representatives grew more cautious in their assessments as their faces grew gloomier. The very next statement from Mr. Shokhin confirmed the assumptions. Recalling that the Far Eastern and East Siberian constituencies were "bastions of the Communists and the LDPR" in the previous elections, he nevertheless admitted that the first results of the voting were unexpected. Mr. Shokhin's stand changed correspondingly. He no longer denied there was a possibility of creating a coalition and called on democratic forces ("Yabloko" first and foremost) to unite "in the struggle for the government." The prospects of such unity look doubtful, however: Mr. Yavlinskiy's attitude to the current cabinet can hardly be described as even neutral. Moreover, Mr. Shokhin suggested that the ministerial seats held by the APR [Agrarian Party of Russia] be transferred to the election winners (probably Communists). The victors are unlikely to be satisfied with the agricultural sector alone.

The evolution of the NDR's view of the shape of a future government did not end there. Addressing journalists an hour later, Sergey Belyayev began talking of a "smooth restructuring of the government." This sort of admission from a member of the government (Mr. Belyayev, you will recall, is still GKI [Goskomimushchestvo, State Committee for the Administration of State Property] chairman, though he took a "technical" time-out for the duration of the election campaign), almost looks like a promise. Privatization, which he is in charge of, has become the main target of the Communist attack. If an NDR member once again takes charge of Goskomimushchestvo in this political context, it would almost look like a challenge — even more so since the Constitution says that you cannot hold a government office and be a deputy, which offers Mr. Belyayev a formal excuse to leave his post.

By all indications, the premier (like the other NDR leaders, for that matter) proceeded in his plans from public polls that granted the movement between 8 and 12 percent of the vote. A member of the movement's apparatus said in an interview with SEGODNYA that second place (no one doubted a victory for the Communists) was regarded as the prize right from the start. No one, however, could have imagined such a lag behind the CPRF and a new success for the LDPR. Against this backdrop, Gennadiy Zyuganov's words — "they (members of the government) will have to tender their own resignation" — sounds like an urgent warning. The slogans of the far left: "Down with predatory privatization and impoverishment of the people," as is clear now, are finding a much wider response among voters than the fight against inflation and the budget deficit preached by the government.

Given this frightening unpopularity of the current economic policy, the government can hardly manage without dropping some of its members. The rotation will start (and end, perhaps) by dropping persons who personify the cabinet's reform course. They are easy to identify using the old Russian principle of personnel policy: "Those in the government must be either economists or economic managers." The latter are less threatened by a "leftist" personnel policy, since the Communists indeed urge that "the country's economy be entrusted to experienced economic managers." As for theorists [economists], the end of the election (or more accurately, post-election) process will be the most painful. It is the second part of the president's phrase — "if a certain balance of forces emerges in the new Duma, one will have to consider the composition of the government," that now begins to play a far more important role.

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Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin Expected To Consider Reshuffle

LD1912113795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1113 GMT 19 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 19 (Interfax) - A traditional working meeting between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin began at around noon Tuesday at Barvikha sanatorium near Moscow, a source close to the head of state told Interfax.

The hour long conversation is expected to focus primarily on the preliminary election returns and the resulting social and political situation.

Experts think a reshuffle in leading structures, including the cabinet, might be considered in this context.

Fast change should not be expected though, the source told Interfax. In keeping with the constitution, the Duma shall hold its first session 30 days after the election. New appointments can be announced only after the president has become acquainted with the new Duma groups, the source said.

Yeltsin and Chernomyrdin are also expected to discuss matters related to the approval of the 1996 budget, the situation in Chechnya and current problems.

Election Results Not Expected To Change Oil Exports

LD1812143895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1320 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 18 (PIA-Interfax) — The Russian Communist Party's impending victory at elections to the State Duma will hardly change Russia's oil export in any dramatic way, experts from leading oil exporting companies have said to Petroleum Information Agency.

Exporters believe they will be free to ship oil on earlier contracts within several months. In their opinion, a change in the overall government policy in Russia is unlikely, and so is the formation of a new coalition cabinet before the presidential vote next June.

Voicing a similar view on the eve of the Duma elections, Deputy Economics Minister Sergey Vasilyev stressed that "Russia's foreign trade policy will most likely remain unchanged after the elections. There won't be abrupt government changes in the government before the presidential elections since the government's policy is shaped by Boris Yeltsin himself," Vasilyev declared.

Yeltsin Returns Three Laws to Federation Council

LD1812205595 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1236 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 18 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — The head of state's press service has reported that Boris Yeltsin has again sent back to the Federation Council without examination the texts of the federal laws "On meetings, rallies, demonstrations, marches, and picketing," "On introducing changes and additions to the RSFSR law 'On banks and banking in the RSFSR'," "On a minimum wage in the Russian Federation," and "On introducing changes and additions to the Russian Federation law 'On state guarantees and compensation for persons working and living in regions of the Far North and similar localities'."

Explaining his position, the president points out that he had earlier rejected all these federal laws because the Federal Assembly chambers were unable, during a second examination, to overturn the president's veto. However, subsequently, instead of shaping an appropriate decision, the Federation Council conducted a further examination and ballot, not provided for by the Constitution of the Russian Federation, and which were considered to be basic when overturning the veto of the president of the Russian Federation.

In this connection the head of state proposed that the upper chamber return to these laws.

Yeltsin Rejects Laws on Pensions, Industrial Cooperatives

LD1812210195 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1358 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 18 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin rejected the federal law "On paying pensions for long service to health workers carrying out curative and other types of work to safeguard the health of the population in agricultural localities," because it is not in accordance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation and other legislative acts of the Russian Federation, and because it would be inexpedient to adopt it. The Russian president sent this message to State Duma Chairman Ivan Rybkin.

The president sent a message to State Duma Chairman Ivan Rybkin in which he rejected the federal law "On industrial cooperatives," that was presented to him for signing and being made public, because it was not in accordance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation and other legislative acts of the Russian Federation.

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'Not Enough Money' To Fund Chechnya Reconstruction

MM1812133295 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by Vladimir Kucherenko: "At the Russian Federation Government: Chechnya Not United"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The government's 14 December session examined the draft federal program for the restoration of the Chechen Republic's economy and social sphere in 1996.

According to Ye. Basin, first deputy chairman of the State Committee for the Restoration of the Chechen Republic's Economy, the program is the logical extension of this year's actions. Around 30 trillion rubles [R] had been spent by 1 December 1995 on restoration work and another R1.4 trillion will have been put to use by the end of December. Thanks to these appropriations, 2.2 million square meters of housing have already been rebuilt and appreciable success has been achieved in reviving industry and the social, transport, and other infrastructures.

However, things are proceeding with difficulty. Provision has not been made in the 1996 budget for this year's expenditure and money has had to be pumped out of other areas. As a result, for instance, arrears owed to construction industry personnel for work carried out have totaled R1 trillion.

Nevertheless the work is continuing. What are the plans for next year? Expenditure is estimated at almost R30 trillion, which is equivalent to the federal budget's entire investment program. There is not enough money. The program envisages possible sources of funding of R14.2 trillion. It is envisaged that another R7.9 trillion will be found in the course of budget implementation and the same amount from commercial bank loans and private investors.

"Regrettably, the results of the restoration work are still imperceptible to the ordinary inhabitant," D. Zavgayev, head of the Chechen Republic Government, stated.

But what will be achieved realistically? According to A. Shapovalyants, Russian Federation deputy economy minister, R30 trillion is a figure that is known to be unrealistic. It is necessary to identify the priorities and detail the program as far as possible, removing all the surplus elements and identifying the responsible parties.

At the suggestion of First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets, who was chairing the session, the draft program was given support.

On the same day a draft federal program entitled "Development of Spas of Russian Status" was also discussed and approved. The draft Russian Federation Urban Development Code prepared by the Ministry of Construction was also adopted without any discussion.

Last, St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak's suggestion that his city be included on the list of applicants to host the 2004 summer Olympics was accepted.

Lebed Calls For 'Professionals' in Government

AU1912112695 Munich FOCUS in German 18 Dec 95 p 208

[Interview with General Aleksandr Lebed by unidentified FOCUS correspondent; place and date not given: "Democracy is a Nice Word..."]

[FBIS Translated Text] [FOCUS] Should the army get involved in political activities?

[Lebed] In a normal state the army should stay in the barracks. But there are no ideals today, least of all in this so-called Union of Independent States, this collection of abnormal, crazy countries, including Russia. Today all problems, including that of the officers' devastating situation, are political.

[FOCUS] What is going wrong in the government's policy?

[Lebed] You are paying 92 kopeks in taxes on every ruble today. Under such circumstances there is no point in working. We need a team of professionals, and not what we have got now.

[FOCUS] Are you a democrat?

[Lebed] No. Democracy is a nice word. But I will certainly not live to see the day when we really have a democracy. It has to be established bit by bit.

Georgia's Giorgadze Said Living at Grachev's Dacha

LD1812200195 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1900 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Igor Giorgadze, former head of the Georgian Security Service, who is on the wanted list in connection with the assassination attempt on Georgian president Eduard Shevardnadze, is living at the dacha of Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev. This news was reported today by some of the Georgian media. According to their information, Giorgadze visits the headquarters of the Russian Federal Security Service practically every day.

Note that so far neither the Russian Ministry of Defense, nor the Federal Security Service have made any comments on this information.

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Media Issues

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA To Suspend Publication

MM1812164095 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Dec 95 p 1

[Announcement by the editorial collective and management: "To Our Readers!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA's complex financial situation, which we have been talking about for almost six months now in the corridors of power, has brought the government publication to the logical conclusion:

As of 20 December ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA IS SUSPENDING PUBLICATION [words printed in upercase] — there is no money even to pay the debts for November.

The Central Electoral Commission owes us **several billion rubles** for the publication of its election materials **— and it is not paying.**

We are owed **hundreds of millions of rubles** by the Federal Commission for Securities and the Stock Market headed by A. Chubays and D. Vasilyev — **not only is it not paying,** it is trying to evade its partnership obligations to the newspaper. And this is despite the fact that A. Chubays as first vice premier of the Russian Federation Government has issued a written instruction to pay.

We are owed money by the Finance Ministry and the Russian Committee for the Press — **over R10 billion — and they are not paying** despite the strict resolutions contained in five (!) government instructions issued in the space of just one month. The Finance Ministry and the Russian Committee for the Press are unusually law-abiding. The amount stated in the 1995 budget for state support for publications founded by the organs of the executive and the legislature is, they say, exactly what you will get. But then who is to blame for the fact that ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA has received less than one-half of that money even though its volume and print run are five or six times higher than all the other state publications put together? It is strange that the financial pressure exerted on ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA by the Russian Committee for the Press and the Finance Ministry coincided for some reason with a change in its stance — the move away from the notorious "revelations" to a position of common sense and civil accord in society.

We understood that during the election campaign the readers had a vital need for information in order to make a responsible choice on 17 December and understand the election results, which is why publication continued until today on credit and pledged against a word of honor.

We understand that no one has the right to restrict citizens' constitutional rights to free access to objective information. Like you, we will hope that our enforced silence will not last long.

[Signed] The Editorial Collective
The Management

Military & Nuclear Issues

Text of Grachev Order on Strategic Missile Forces' Day

MM1812153995 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Dec 95 p 1

["Russian Federation Defense Minister's Order of the Day No. 394," dated 16 December 1995, Moscow]

[FBIS Translated Text] Comrade soldiers and sailors, sergeants and petty officers, warrant officers and ensigns, officers!

Comrade scientists, engineers, and workers in defense sectors of industry!

Esteemed Strategic Missile Forces veterans!

On 17 December 1995 the Russian Federation and its Armed Forces celebrate Strategic Missile Forces Day.

The establishment and development of the Strategic Missile Forces is a glorious chronicle of this country's scientific and technical discoveries, of solutions to military organizational development problems, and of the courage, valor, and gallantry of Missile Forces personnel. In a historically short period of time the people have by their genius and hard work created a branch of service [vid voysk] which is the basis of the Russian Federation's Strategic Nuclear Forces and of its Armed Forces' fighting strength.

The Strategic Missile Forces, equipped with modern nuclear missile weapons systems and automated control systems, are maintaining the Russian Federation's status as a great power and guaranteeing its independence and security.

Even in peacetime Strategic Missile Forces personnel are carrying out a combat mission of special state importance — they are on continuous alert duty in a constant state of readiness to use their weapons for their designated purpose.

Missilemen's high degree of professionalism and loyalty to their constitutional duty and combat traditions are reliably ensuring the required combat potential of the

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Strategic Missile Forces and organization, high military discipline, and law and order in the military units and subunits.

I greet and congratulate you on Strategic Missile Forces Day!

I wish Strategic Missile Forces personnel and veterans and scientists, engineers, and workers in defense sectors of industry success in their military service and work, good health, happiness, and prosperity.

[Signed] Army General P. Grachev, Russian Federation defense minister

Space Forces Launch Soyuz-U Rocket From Baykonur

LD1812151695 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1454 GMT 18 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Veronika Romanenkova and Viktor Gritsenko]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 18th December — The Progress M-30 cargo craft will deliver fuel, food, and scientific and medical equipment with a total weight of over 2,000 tonnes to the Mir station. The Progress M-30 will be placed in orbit by a Soyuz-U booster rocket, which was launched by the Military Space Forces from Baykonur at 1732 Moscow time today.

ITAR-TASS has learned at the press center of the Military Space Forces that Colonel General Vladimir Ivanov, the Space Forces' commander, personally supervised the launch.

Nuclear Waste in Vladivostok Discussed

OW1912045295 Tokyo EKONOMISUTO in Japanese 5 Dec 95 pp 50-51

[Article by Hiroyuki Maruyama, chief researcher at 21st Century Institute: "Vladivostok as Nuclear Submarine Cemetery — A Nearby Danger Zone"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vladivostok, the base of Russia's Pacific Fleet, now suffers from both heavy metal and radioactive waste contamination. The reason can be traced to the negative heritage of the former Soviet Union's Navy: the concentration of industries such as shipbuilding and repair that discharge heavy metals, and the mass deployment of nuclear-powered submarines in the small area of Vladivostok. When will the citizens of Vladivostok be released from this double torture? The following is a report from Vladivostok — the "burial ground of nuclear submarines."

In late October, I visited Vladivostok to exchange views with the Maritime Kray Administration's Natural Resources Committee.

What I first encountered there was the shocking news that "two thirds of Vladivostok's residential area are recognized as hazardous to health because of heavy metal pollution." According to an analysis by a local ecological center that has gathered and analyzed 30,000 specimens in the five years from 1985 to 1990, "Contamination by heavy metals such as cadmium, zirconium, cobalt, arsenic, and mercury has considerably progressed." Professor Preobrazhenskiy at the Pacific Geography Research Institute said: "Due to the concentration of such industries as ship building and repair that are environmentally hazardous there is almost no place in the city where one can live healthily."

Another issue of concern to residents is the fact that the state of contamination by nuclear waste has not been improved at all. It was in 1993 when Russia's Pacific Fleet was criticized by the world for dumping dismantled nuclear submarine's radioactive waste into the Sea of Japan. Because of that, the Russian Government promised to stop dumping at sea. However, not only has the present state of affairs in Vladivostok — called the "cemetery of nuclear submarines" — shown no improvements, but it seems to have further deteriorated. Vice Chairman Sheremechenko of the Maritime Kray Administration's Natural Resources Committee, with whom I exchanged opinions, told me that "the trouble in the international bid to select a builder has been holding up the construction of a liquid radioactive waste disposal facility scheduled to be built with 100-million-dollar aid from Japan." Asked why it is taking time to choose a contractor while there is so much liquid nuclear waste to the extent that transport tankers have to be converted into storage facilities, he expressed his irritation, noting "bidding is in confusion because of the intervention by central government agencies like Russia's Defense Ministry, Nuclear Energy Ministry, and the State Committee for the Defense Industry."

Talking with Captain Danilyan, chief of the Pacific Fleet's Radiological, Chemical, and Biological Safety Department, I was astonished at how serious the situation is. An international symposium on "Dismantling Nuclear-Powered Submarines and Its Related Issues" was held in Moscow from 19 to 22 June this year. Participating in the symposium as the representative of the Pacific Fleet, Danilyan reported the following:

— Of 156 nuclear submarines to be scrapped by the Russian Navy by the year 2000, the Pacific Fleet alone has 61 submarines.

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— While the "Zvezda plant" (Bolshoi Kamen) is the only nuclear submarine dismantling plant in the Far East, its ability to scrap submarines has declined from five to six ships a year to two to three ships due to a shortage of funds.
— The disposal and storage facilities for nuclear submarine's used fuel and radioactive waste straggling along the coast of Maritime Kray were built in the 1950-60s, and they are now totally outdated systems.
— Due to a shortage of funds, not only the modernization and new construction of plants for disposal and storage of spent nuclear fuel and radioactive waste have halted, but also the Pacific Fleet's Nuclear, Radiation, and Ecology Safety Department has been curtailed.
— At the Zvezda plant, 840 cubic meters of radioactive waste — more than two times the facility's designed storage capacity — is stored. Also, Russian tankers TNT-27 and TNT-5 are full of nuclear waste: the TNT-27 is laden with 900 cubic meters of waste, and the TNT-5 with 400 cubic meters.

According to a report for the first half of 1995 recently released by Russia's State Committee for Supervision of Nuclear and Radiation Safety, the main spent nuclear fuel reprocessing plant "Mayak" (Chelyabinsk 65) "cannot be expected to reprocess further amount of used nuclear fuel due to its outdated facilities." Because of that, it is said, "nuclear submarine's spent fuel, amounting to four million curies of radioactivity, is left as it is" at coastal bases in the Russian Far East. If that is the case, then, where will the vast amount of spent fuel from the 61 nuclear submarines to be dismantled be stored and reprocessed?

Also, the separated reactor compartments are kept in floating containers at Bolshoi Kamen Bay because there are no funds to transport them to a long-term storage facility. This is reliable information because Turukhanenko, cameraman of the largest local daily "VLADIVOSTOK," showed me some pictures of the floating storage containers for the reactor compartments taken at Bolshoi Kamen Bay this August. I shudder at the mere idea of a "fin de siecle" scene where 61 reactor storage containers float at Bolshoi Kamen Bay.

Then, I asked Sheremechenko to make arrangements to have an interview with executives of the "Zvezda," the only nuclear submarine dismantling facility in the Far East. I met Chief Engineer Shushulitan and two other executives at the 16th floor of the Maritime Kray Administration's building, and their speech and action were stubborn, suggestive of officers of a secret factory.

Shushulitan just explained that the Zvezda plant is under the supervision of the State Committee for the Defense Industry, and the facility's operating rate has fallen below its capacity due to a shortage of funds. In addition, he pointed out the duty of the factory is limited to the dismantling of nuclear submarines, and the Navy is all responsible for the transportation and reprocessing of spent nuclear fuel, the long-term storage of reactor compartments, and the storage and disposal of liquid and solid radioactive waste. In other words, they took the attitude that they were unable to answer any questions. At the end of the interview, I made a request to have an on-the-spot look at the Zvezda plant, but they virtually rejected my request by replying, "If you have the permission of Moscow's Defense Ministry, Ministry of Nuclear Energy, and Federal Security Bureau (the former KGB), we will accept you at any time."

Since there was nothing I could do about it, next day I drove to Bolshoi Kamen, which is about two-hour drive from Vladivostok along the road to Nakhodka. In the area are Chazma Bay where an Echo class nuclear submarine — whose reactor exploded and burnt in 1985 — is left as it is, and Pavlovskoye Base for strategic nuclear submarines (a total of nine strategic missile nuclear submarines are deployed: three Yankee-I class, and six Delta-II class). Probably because of this, some watchhouses, and soldiers with automatic rifle were seen. After entering Bolshoi Kamen, I made a right turn in the direction of the bay, and drove for a while. Then, a white huge building, which is rare in Russia, appeared. It probably is the headquarters of the Zvezda plant. As I drove further, a giant strategic missile nuclear submarine waiting to be dismantled was witnessed on the ground between a construction building and a crane. Since I was able to see one more submarine, it seems the information that the factory can scrap two to three ships a year is true.

However, at that rate, it will take 20 to 30 years to dismantle all 61 submarines. It appears Vladivostok — which can be reached from Toyama and Niigata in just about an hour by airplane — can only be relieved from its nightmare of being the burial ground of nuclear submarines in the remote future. The time seems to have come for Japan to consider giving a full-scale support to the promotion of building more nuclear submarine dismantling facilities and radioactive waste disposal plants.

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Regional Affairs

Chechnya Reportage: Elections, Situation in Gudermes

Elections Show That Dudayev 'Must Quit'

MM1912133795 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Vitaliy Strugovets: "Dudayev Must Leave.... Doku Zavgayev Elected Head of Republic"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Despite the lack of an official announcement by the republic's electoral commission, it can already be boldly said that the elections in Chechnya were valid, as they were in the Russian Federation as a whole. According to Abdul Kerim Arsakhanov, chairman of the republic electoral commission, 53.2 percent of the electorate voted in Groznyy, 57 percent in Argun, 35 percent in Achkhoy-Martanovskiy, Naurskiy, Shalinskiy, Shelkovskiy, and Shatoyskiy Rayons, 90 percent in Sunzhenskiy Rayon, and 72 percent in Nadterechnyy Rayon. What is more, many Chechen refugees currently resident outside the republic also voted. The elections could not be wrecked even by the highly intense combat operations mounted by the Dudayevites over the last few days. In Achkoy-Martan, for instance, guerrillas literally surrounded the polling place. But people turned out nonetheless. Manifesting true courage and strength of will.

It was only in the mountainous areas of the Chechen Republic, which the Dudayevites had cut off from the main part of the republic, that elections did not take place. But even so the total turnout clearly exceeded the 25 percent necessary for the elections to be deemed valid. Over 80 percent of the electorate voted for Doku Zavgayev, thus automatically voting against Dudayev and his regime and against war. This decision by voters has not only smashed the cornerstone of the propaganda campaign mounted by the former general's supporters claiming that President Dudayev is allegedly the only legitimate head of Chechnya (today one can boldly add the prefix ex- to his post not just de facto but also de jure), but also showed people's mood. The new head of the republic said in an interview with ITAR-TASS that he would focus his attention on implementing the agreement between the Chechen Republic and the Russian Federation regarding the republic's special status. According to Doku Zavgayev, elections of the legislature will be held in the Chechen Republic in the near future, along with a referendum on the future status of the Chechen Republic.

Needless to say, elections as such are not a panacea for all ills. But they have vividly demonstrated who in Chechnya is interested in stabilization and a peaceful life and who prefers war. Today no one believes Dudayev any longer when he says that the Chechen people support him alone. The elections have confirmed the opposite. [passage omitted]

What can be expected in Chechnya in the near future?

The election results have clearly shown the Chechen people's opinion: They favor peace and are against war But how will the guerrillas take that? According to a number of observers, the overwhelming majority of Chechen guerrillas want peace but cannot find a fitting solution to the prevailing situation. In our view, the only thing that can cut the Gordian knot of senseless bloodshed now is for Dzhokhar Dudayev to quit the political arena either voluntarily or by force. According to specialists, the men, equipment, and weapons that have been amassed since the summer enable the guerrillas to wage a partisan war with more or less vigor until next February. However, the split within their ranks, the patent reluctance to die in this senseless war, and the snowballing blood feuds among other things that have built up over the past year compel them to seek an opportunity to abandon with dignity further acts of terrorism on their native soil. This view is backed by representatives of the Chechen diaspora in Moscow.

"You may take differing views of Doku Zavgayev and the other politicians in Chechnya, but Dudayev's departure today would be a relief to everyone, including his immediate supporters," one of them said during a recent conversation with journalists.

Will Dudayev heed the voice of his people, for whose well-being he verbally shows extreme concern?

Refugees Describe Situation in Gudermes

AU1812181095 Paris AFP in English 1756 GMT 18 Dec 95

[by Mikhail Tavkhelidze]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Outside Gudermes, Russia, Dec 18 (AFP) — The refugees from Gudermes stood up on flatbed trucks, leaned out of bus windows, raised their fists defiantly and shouted "Allahu Akbar" (God is Great) to celebrate their escape from hell.

The refugee convoy, carrying several thousand men, was the first to be allowed out of Chechnya's second town since it was blockaded by Russian troops battling Chechen separatist guerrillas who seized several key buildings on Thursday.

The fighting in Gudermes, 40 kilometres (25 miles) east of the devastated Chechen capital Groznyy, was the

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heaviest since a shaky ceasefire was agreed in late June, aimed at ending the war in the breakaway Caucasus republic.

The refugees' stories echoed those of civilians who suffered the crushing three-month Russian siege of Groznyy which reduced the city to rubble last year.

"(The Russians) fire every five minutes with heavy artillery and tanks. People are huddled in their cellars. Many are ill. They haven't had time to gather the corpses from the streets," Malika Kurasova, 37, told AFP.

"They have burned three schools, the prosecutor's building, the printing house. Everything that survived from the war," she said.

"They have destroyed the hospital. There are no doctors there. The sick are dying, and people are dying from the smallest shrapnel wounds because nobody is left to perform even basic first aid.

"The whole world must help us to get the people out of there," she said.

As her young children tried to amuse themselves by sliding in the snow behind passing cars, Kurasova sighed. "The life is being driven out of them," she said.

Like others, she said that she would have to return to Gudermes to help others escape.

"My mother there is sick. I had to bring the children out, but then I will go back for her," she said.

Others gathered for spontaneous demonstrations by the highway and listened as speakers standing on trucks denounced as "traitors and murderers" the Russian-installed government of Doku Zavgayev, the former communist leader of Chechnya.

The Russian-backed authorities announced Monday that Zavgayev had won Chechen leadership elections with a landslide, but western journalists observed widespread fraud and multiple voting.

As the refugees poured out of Gudermes, at least one woman was headed in the opposite direction.

Khava Borisovna, 35, wearing the green bandana of a Chechen fighter pledged to holy war, said she was trying to get into Gudermes to join her comrades in battle.

"(The Russians) will go no further. We will stop them at Gudermes and we will drive them out," she said.

The separatists said they seized Gudermes to stop the Moscow-organised elections in which Zavgayev was the only serious candidate.

The Russian authorities initially tried to play down the severity of the fighting in Gudermes. Some even claimed that elections were underway in the town, although they later backed off.

The rebels loyal to independence leader Dzhokhar Dudayev have also seized buildings in other towns and positions on major highways, but only in Gudermes did they meet resistance.

Aslan Maskhadov, the separatists' military commander, told AFP that hundreds of Russians were killed in Gudermes when the Chechens attacked them by surprise.

Russian troops poured into Chechnya in December 1994 to crush Dudayev's independence bid.

After months of fighting that left an estimated 30,000 dead and hundreds of thousands homeless, the sides signed a military accord in July calling for the separatists to disarm and Moscow to withdraw its troops.

But Moscow stopped implementing the deal and pulled out of peace talks after an October bomb attack left the Russian military commander General Anatoly Romanov critically wounded.

Federal Forces Plan To Free Gudermes

LD1912113395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1113 GMT 19 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 19 (INTERFAX) — An operation to free Chechnya's second biggest town Gudermes from Dudayev's militants has been planned for the next few days, a spokesman for the Russian command told INTERFAX Tuesday.

He said federal troops are concentrating additional army units, artillery, Grad and Uragan rocket installations.

Residents have been leaving the town for fear of the storming of Gudermes.

According to the spokesman, the town has been badly damaged by fighting now in its sixth day.

Militants entered Gudermes which was free from federal troops on Dec. 14, the first day of elections of the Chechen leader.

The attempts of federal troops to drive the 600 or so militants out of Gudermes have failed so far.

Both sides are suffering losses. Several dozen federal troops have been killed and wounded. The losses of the Chechen side are not known exactly.

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Further on Plan To Free Gudermes

LD1812200895 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Dec 95

[From the "Vremya" newscast by correspondent Vladimir Polozhentsev]

[FBIS Translated Text] The situation was tense in Gudermes today. The fighters are led by field commanders Raduyev, Abdukhalidov, Geliskhanov, who are all supporters of Dudayev. Today Gudermes' elders asked them to leave the town, but the Dudayevites threatened to have them shot if they turned up at least one more time. Using civilians as a human shield, the illegal armed formations are continuing to fire at commandant's offices and OMON [special purpose militia detachment] detachments at the railway station. There are killed and wounded. Provocations against the federal troops are continuing in Chechnya's other regions, too. A convoy of Russian armored vehicles was fired at near the populated areas of Gerzel and Novogroznenskiy.

[Begin recording] [General A. Shkirko, commander of the joint group of federal troops in Chechnya] The entire responsibility for this provocation falls upon Dudayev and his closest entourage. We have enough forces to punish these armed instigators in the toughest possible way, if need be, and make them stop hostilities. [end recording]

An army operation aimed at ousting Dudayev's formations started in the area of Gudermes and Shatoy today. It was preceded by unsuccessful attempts at holding talks. For three days internal troops have been helping the population to leave these towns. Over these three days the federal forces have been firing from small arms only, despite enemy attacks and losses among the Interior Ministry's personnel. Now aviation and artillery have been brought into action. While this reportage was being prepared, new convoys of federal troops and Interior Ministry sub-units were being formed and started moving toward Urus-Martan.

Yeltsin To Create Search Team for MIA's

LD1712153095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1401 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 17 (INTERFAX) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin has ordered creation of a team to search for servicemen and staff members of police organs missing or kept hostage by rebel units in Chechnya.

The president instructed the Defense Ministry, the Interior Ministry, the Federal Security Service, the Federal Border Service and the Health Ministry to assign their representatives to the temporary working team before February 1, 1996, on request of the chairman of the Presidential Commission for POW's, Internees and MIA's.

The presidential administrative department will render material, technical and financial support to the temporary working team.

Crashed Tu-154 Aircraft Found in Khabarovsk Kray

MM1912120895 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Dec 95 pp 1-2

[Report by Boris Reznik: "Crashed Tu-154 Finally Found"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Khabarovsk — Only yesterday experienced searchers, standing next to the huge map of the area over which the search was being carried out for the missing Tu-154 scheduled passenger aircraft en route from Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk to Novosibirsk were in despair: Finding the aircraft seemed to them an almost hopeless undertaking. A territory with a radius of 100 km by 100 km had been carefully surveyed in every direction from the ground, the air, and even space. It was divided into 80 squares each of which was crisscrossed two or three times, which means that they had searched repeatedly here without success.

And then on 18 December the members of the government commission again turned to the initial materials and analyzed the results of the work of the air defense duty crews which had been issued almost at the outset with the coordinates for the place where flight No. 3949 had been lost. This was square No. 10 on the map. Here the target had "escaped" the air defense subunit carrying out observation. I was told by Lieutenant Colonel Nikolay Yakuba, chief of a group at the Far East Air Defense formation radio technical troops department, that from the outset for some reason their data had not been taken as the main version and in connection with the fact that information had come in from three other sources they made amendments to the margin of error and the military obviously did not check the initial information very carefully. And upon a repeat check 12 km from the place indicated as where the target was lost pilot Verevkin from the Khabarovsk air detachment second formation discovered the aircraft. He saw it in a very inaccessible place in the region of Bo-Dzhaus mountain which is 1,600 meters above sea level. It is approximately 50-60 km from the settlement of Grossevich, which is on the shore of the Tatar Strait. It is about 270 km from Khabarovsk to the point where the aircraft went down. Before dictating this report I had just come from a session of the government commission

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headed by Khabarovsk Kray Governor Viktor Ishayev. At dawn, at 0800 hours rescue detachments flew to the site of the accident. They were followed by an operational investigation group which had been put up in barracks and which includes workers from the Federal Security Service, police, and Far East transport prosecutor's office. Just in case a group of mine specialists with mine detectors will also fly out followed by helicopters with cordons. At 1030 hours I, your IZVESTIYA correspondent, will also fly out to the site of the accident with members of the government commission.

Ossetian, Ingush Presidents Sign Treaty on Relations

LD1712155195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1401 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 17 (INTERFAX) — North Ossetian and Ingush Presidents Akhsarbek Galazov and Ruslan Aushev have ratified the text of an agreement on settling relations and on cooperation between the two republics, Russian presidential aide on national security Yuriy Baturin told INTERFAX Sunday [17 December].

Baturin and presidential aide on national and regional policy Nikolay Yegorov met with the North Ossetian and Ingush presidents on Friday and Saturday.

Presidents of these republics introduced several amendments to the agreement but on the whole they agreed to the text of this document.

"I think that having accepted the agreement, the presidents of the two republics have made an important step," Baturin said.

Soskovets Tells Producers of Arms Exports Review

MM1812121995 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 16 Dec 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Oleg Soskovets, First Vice Premier of the Russian Federation Government: The Arms Export Procedure Will Be Reviewed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As in former years, the "Transmash" Production Association in Omsk produces tanks, including the most modern T-80. Not one machine has gone out of the plant's gates over the past two years. There are no buyers. The grounds have turned into a storage area for finished products, while in the shops there are towering piles of uncompleted work and subassemblies for three years ahead. The enterprise leadership has explained that it is expecting a state order from the State Committee for the Defense Sectors of Industry and the Ministry of Defense. The plant has not yet decided where to look for a customer for the hardware that has already been produced or how to start producing new hardware which is wanted on the market.

On the other hand, the "Polet" Aerospace Association, which has worked for space and for defense and has recently been tackling the "Buran" program, has managed far better to join the market. When military orders dried up and the Buran reusable craft set off not into space but to the Gorkiy Park of Culture, the association's leaders started actively offering their output to all who have money, inside and outside the country, and joined the Omsk regional "Conversion" program. But saucepans and frying pans did not become the main output. Production of the An-74 transport was assimilated in conjunction with the Antonov Design Bureau. The enterprise participated in international space programs. The result is self-evident: Technologies and jobs have been preserved.

Oleg Soskovets, first vice premier of the Russian Federation Government, saw such a motley picture of the present state of defense enterprises during his tour of the Far East and Siberia.

But what will happen to defense enterprises now? Does the country need the hardware that they produce? This was the chief question among those put to O. Soskovets during the meetings.

"We will no longer produce the former quantity of military hardware. But there is a red line below which we must not drop. This minimum will be determined with the defense order. A special law will put everything in its place. Today a few people at the Ministry of Defense decide who to grant the defense order to and who not to. As a result, 20-30 enterprises get everything, and the others get nothing. The State Committee for the Defense Sectors of Industry has never become the financial structure that would be able to effectively control the enterprises of the military-industrial complex. The directors do not know whether they will receive the defense order for next year. The 'Transmash' director was unable to say how many machines he can guarantee to sell to the Ministry of Defense.

"The question of realizing a through defense order, which will provide work for both defense industry workers and subcontractors, is now being examined in the government. But we ourselves must learn to work under the new conditions. We must study the foreign market. France, Germany, and the United States sell their tanks to the whole world, while our defense industry waits for orders from Moscow. The procedure for exporting arms not only through 'Rosvooruzheniye' will be examined in the very near future. The State Committee for the Defense Sectors of Industry has

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been entrusted with elaborating and submitting a special procedure governing bankruptcy for military-industrial complex enterprises, which, on the one hand, will prevent them from being a millstone around the state's neck and, on the other, will not harm the country's defense capability."

EBRD Institutes Fund for Development of NW Russia

MM1812095995 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Dec 95 p 9

[Unattributed report: "Small But Precious Loan" — from the "Departmental Supplement" section]

[FBIS Translated Text] The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development has founded a Regional Enterprise Fund with capital of $30 million to promote the economic development of Northwest Russia.

The bank's chairman announced that the fund's activity is designed to cover a 10-year period and will aim to support the privatization process in the region of Novgorod, Tver, Pskov, and Vologda.

Far North Administrators Deplore Nonpayment for Gas

MM1812103295 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 15 Dec 95 p 1

[Undated "Open Letter to Heads of Administrations of Russia's Gas-Consuming Oblasts" from Yuriy Neyelov, governor of Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug; Natalya Komarova, head of Novyy Urengoy City Administration; and Vladimir Kovalchuk, mayor of Nadym City and Nadymskiy Rayon: "Nonpayments Blockage"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed colleagues! Greetings on the coming new year of 1996. We wish you success, happiness, family joys, and good health!

Unfortunately most northerners are in a far from celebratory mood. Chronic nonpayments are leaving drilling, transport, and construction workers and all gas-extracting enterprises' workers without the means of existence. What new year festivities can there be if people have not received wages for months?

As the year draws to an end consumers in the European part of Russia owe the "Gazprom" Russian joint-stock company around one-half of the cost of the gas extracted with enormous difficulty. Moscow [city] and Moscow, Rostov, Lipetsk, Sverdlovsk, Tver, and Tambov Oblasts owe more than others. Essentially power stations in Perm and Ryazan Oblasts are consuming gas free of charge. This sorry list could be continued.

It is above all the people who suffer most from this state of affairs. There are no funds for the necessary retooling, purchasing of equipment and materials, construction and repair of facilities, and maintenance of the social sphere. There is nothing with which to pay exorbitant travel costs and in our conditions this means not only automobiles and trains but also aircraft and helicopters, without which it is impossible to get to work.

Because of the nonpayments we ourselves are ending up in debt for gas. After all, it is known that federal and local taxes account for around 60 percent of the natural gas pricing structure. In other words this is money which goes on funding health care, education, culture, and maintaining the police and other vitally important organizations.

We realize that these problems are just as painful for you and that everybody in Russia is suffering from them to a greater or lesser extent. But add the Far North's extreme conditions — the bitter cold, polar nights, the tour of duty system of working — to the well-known costs. A solicitous mother cannot bring products here from the countryside, you cannot lay in potatoes in your garden plot.

The 1,000-km gas pipeline has linked our cities and villages very strongly. Northerners are not given to complaining — for the time being we are delivering heating and energy without interruptions. Because we are not strangers to each other. So let us together prevent the gas pipeline from being hopelessly stopped up by the nonpayments blockage!

[Signed] Yuriy Neyelov, governor of Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug;

Natalya Komarova, head of Novyy Urengoy City Administration;
Vladimir Kovalchuk, mayor of Nadym City and Nadymskiy Rayon

Government Considering Arctic Border Guard Area

LD1612150095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1422 GMT 16 Dec 95

[By Vasiliy Belousov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MURMANSK, December 16 (ITAR-TASS) — The Russian Government is considering the possibility of reorganising a group of border troops guarding Russia's northern frontiers into an Arctic border guard area, group commander Lieutenant-General Konstantin Pleshko said.

In an interview with ITAR-TASS on Saturday, Pleshko said the decision is not a goal in itself. A sharp

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reduction of warships in the Northern Fleet, land forces in the Leningrad military region and air-defence forces stationed in the north has considerably lessened Russia's defenses in the Arctic.

Pleshko also pointed out that in terms of strength the group has long been acting as a border guard area, although there are still some unresolved problems, including housing for officers and lack of military equipment and hardware.

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International Affairs

Shmarov Opposes 'Rapid' NATO Expansion

AU1412212595 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 14 Dec 95 pp 1,3

[Report by Laszlo Daroczi on interview with Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov in Budapest on 13 December: "Statement by the Ukrainian Defense Minister — They Will Stay Out of Blocs"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Our stance is regulated by legislation and our military doctrine and is clear: Ukraine is a neutral country that stays out of blocr and does not have any defined enemies threatening its territorial integrity or sovereignty. The army's task is to respect the decision of the civilian society.

Starting from this, just as we did not join the closer military cooperation of the CIS countries, we do not wish to join NATO, either, Ukrainian Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov told UJ MAGYARORSZAG on 13 December. Shmarov was having talks in Budapest at the invitation of his counterpart, Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti. UJ MAGYARORSZAG asked Shmarov how Russian suggestions on setting up an eastern counter-bloc if NATO expands are viewed in Kiev.

At the same time, neutrality does not exclude Ukraine's ability to form bilateral military cooperation with several states, Shmarov said. He added that he did not wish to comment on the Russian statements on the establishment of a "counter-NATO." Instead, he pointed out that he could, to a certain extent, understand Russian fears of a possibly too rapid eastward expansion of NATO. Not everyone is yet prepared for such rapid changes. "In my view, psychological preparation is also needed to reform post-communist and other views. On the other hand, no such danger seems to exist today to justify NATO's rapid expansion," Shmarov said. In his view, four to five years might be enough to "digest" the changes. Otherwise, these processes could easily bring about the renewal of the former opposition and tension.

Relations Between Defense Ministry, NATO To Improve

LD1812213295 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1920 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev [no date as received] — "Friendly ties between the Ukrainian Defense Ministry and other countries' military establishments will be expected to deepen in the future," Oleksandr Urban [as received], head of the Defense Ministry's foreign relations directorate, said at a regular briefing at the Defense Ministry's press center. However, at the same time, our directorate will become involved in political as well as military issues, he continued. Urban said that, as before, the activities of his directorate would focus on good neighborly relations with Ukraine's closest neighbors, the CIS; on businesslike and partnership relations with the West; and on mutually beneficial contacts that would bring benefits to Ukraine, including material ones. "In the future there will be structures in the directorate that will be engaged in more constructive cooperation with NATO," he stressed.

In 1995 the Ukrainian Defense Ministry doubled its efforts in the area of cooperation compared with last year. Next year, it is expected that the ministry will again double its efforts at building cooperation between Ukraine's armed forces and their colleagues in other countries.

Mr. Urban also said that under the new model for participating in peacekeeping operations in former Yugoslavia, every country is responsible for the financial upkeep of its peacekeeping soldiers. According to the experts from the French unit, under whose command the Ukrainian peacekeepers will be operating, it will cost about $10,000 per year to keep one Ukrainian soldier in the conflict zone. At the moment the Ukrainian Defense Ministry is considering ways of paying for the deployment of Ukrainian peacekeepers in former Yugoslavia. In particular, Ukraine will receive compensation for the use of Il-86 airplanes to transport equipment and helicopter detachments, and for using a reinforced sapper group.

Shmarov on Black Sea Fleet, Russian Ties

MK1612125295 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (NEZAVISIMOYE VOYENNOYE OBOZRENIYE Supplement No. 4) in Russian 14 Dec 95 p 1

[Interview with Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov by Natalya Konstantinova under the "Firsthand" rubric: "Both Russia, Ukraine Ought To Benefit From Splitting the Black Sea Fleet. Ukrainian Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov Is Certain That This Stance Is Correct" — Sochi-Moscow, date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Konstantinova] Valeriy Nikolayevich, presently sovereign Ukraine is a space and nuclear power, a member of the Council of Europe, and a participant in a number of international programs covering various areas, including military-technical cooperation. Many people think that of all the CIS states, it is Ukraine that is most proud of its independence and fond of emphasizing it. Is this the strategy and tactic of your state policy? Doesn't it alienate Ukraine from Russia?

[Shmarov] Ukraine behaves as behooves a sovereign state. Not everybody understands that, and those who

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fail to grasp it say that Ukraine is distancing itself. Ukraine has become a state, not a republic; for this reason it is entitled to mold its economy, its policies, and its line of conduct on its own. But this does not mean at all that we have ceased viewing Russia as our closest partner. I think that there are no such accents in Ukrainian policy, but at the same time, there exists what you have just referred to — Ukraine is entering the world community. We are a young state that should make its voice heard in Europe and in the world. Ukraine has joined the Council of Europe and cooperates with NATO on a nonpolitical basis. It is all a normal line of conduct for an independent, sovereign state. But I would like to emphasize that both the Ukrainian president and the government do their utmost so as to realize the principle of strategic partnership between Ukraine and Russia.

[Konstantinova] You have held consultations with your Russian counterpart, Pavel Grachev, and signed agreements on military-technical cooperation. Does Ukraine have similar programs with countries outside the CIS?

[Shmarov] We have signed military cooperation programs with more than 20 states, but they are often fairly formal in nature — they cover the area of military-political cooperation and nothing more. The Sochi accords are filled with more profound contents. Russia and we live within a common system of standards, often have a joint logistical base, weapons, and so forth.

[Konstantinova] Does the split of the Black Sea Fleet mean that the foreign policy interests of Russia and Ukraine do not coincide? On the one hand, the issue is strategic partnership, but on the other, it is a matter of nearly splitting territory.

[Shmarov] But why shouldn't we define our shares in the property and assets of what is currently the Black Sea Fleet? I think that it would be correct to assign a single strategic objective to the separate naval forces. By the way, this was set forth in one of the first agreements on the Black Sea Fleet in 1993. Presently we should adopt a balanced stance, return to the documents, and see to it that they are implemented.

[Konstantinova] What can you say about the principles of joint basing? How can this be implemented in reality and from a financial point of view? Currently it is already a matter of pricing — how much Russia owes Ukraine for a square meter of its coastal zone.

[Shmarov] I think that joint basing will be based on the principle of non-infringement on the interests of either side. In any business one should look at the core — is this advantageous for the participants or not. As soon as one side feels that its interests are infringed upon, the plans, as a rule, do not work out. Everything relating to the maintenance of infrastructure, programs to resolve Sevastopol's social problems, and environmental problems should be paid for. As for land, for the time being our legislation does not provide for rent. I think that this should not be seen as the Ukrainian side's attempt to gain a profit, but, rather, as the principle of mutual advantage.

[Konstantinova] Admiral Baltin said some time ago that there is little water in the Black Sea, but much politics. Both presidents have said that Crimea, the Black Sea Fleet, and Sevastopol are the key bones of contentions between Russia and Ukraine. What do you think in that regard?

[Shmarov] I do not think, I take action. What we managed to achieve together with Defense Minister Grachev are specific actions to disentangle this knot. We approached the Black Sea Fleet problem from the point of view of so-called "small steps." You see that this problem has long been defying attempts to resolve it by political methods "at the top." We ought to tackle minor problems that are tactical in nature so as to leave politicians a minimum of political problems relating to the Black Sea Fleet.

[Konstantinova] Is it planned to hold more specific meetings and consultations with the Russian side on the Black Sea Fleet problem in the near future?

[Shmarov] There are heads of government delegations — the prime ministers of our states. They were tasked with tackling these matters, so it is they, not we, who plan this work.

[Konstantinova] From the very beginning of the current developments in Chechnya reports started emerging in the mass media about Ukrainian mercenaries' involvement in warfare on the side of the Dudayev formations. Can you confirm or deny these reports?

[Shmarov] I state absolutely officially that these are either someone's ravings or a provocation. There has never been a single serviceman of the Ukrainian Armed Forces in Chechnya or other conflict areas, except for cases where Ukraine sent its official observers as part of UN missions to Georgia and Tajikistan, but this is a handful of individuals. Not only in Ukraine, but also in other states, there are all sorts of radicals and national-radicals who do so at their own initiative. We also have such people, who attempt to enter conflict areas on their own initiative and claim to represent Ukraine, but this cannot be associated with Ukraine's stance. There have been cases where representatives of the UNO-UNSO showed up in certain regions, but in a private capacity.

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Politicians View Russian Election Results

WS1912093995 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 0007 GMT 19 Dec 95

[By Oleksandr Pukhov and Oksana Hasiuk, "Special to INTELNEWS"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, Dec. 18 — Reaction among Ukraine's politicians to the victory of Communists and nationalists in Sunday's [17 December] Russian Duma elections varied predictably along party lines.

According to preliminary tallies based on about half the electorate, Communists won the largest bloc of votes, 21.8 percent, followed by Vladimir Zhirinovsky's Liberal-Democratic Party, which got 11.1 percent. Placing third was Our Home Is Russia, led by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, which got 9.7 percent.

Only one other group, Yabloko (Apple), with 8.4 percent, succeeded in passing over the 5 percent threshold required for representation in the Russian Federation's legislature.

Ukrainian Communist leader Petro Symonenko hailed the results, saying that Russian voters supported the Communist Party because its program reflects the interests of the majority of Russian citizen.

Parliament elections in Russia prove one more time "how destructive the path of reforms can be," he said.

Socialist parliamentary faction leader Ivan Chyzh said the results "should show the president that reforms must correspond to the interests of the majority of citizens." He said the strong showing of the left in Russia was caused by the economic situation in the country.

On the other side of the political spectrum, Rukh leader Vyacheslav Chornovil said "Russian Communists in the election campaign used structures and bodies of the former Soviet Communist Party."

According to Chornovil, Russian Communist leader Gennady Zyuganov is a "flexible and careful" politician. If he shifts to the right, Chornovil said of the Communist leader, he can be a contender for the next Russian President.

Deputy Yuriy Boldyryev, a member of the Interregional Deputy Group (IDG) member, told INTELNEWS on Monday that results of the vote in Russia would not influence the debate over whether Ukraine should join the Commonwealth of Independent States Parliamentary Assembly.

Parliament Speaker Oleksandr Moroz recently postponed debate on the CIS Parliamentary Assembly issue, following more than a week of vote boycott by right-centrist deputies, who said they were waiting for Russian election results.

Boldyryev, who was one of the initiators of the CIS assembly proposal in Parliament, is a member of Ukraine's parliamentary delegation to the assembly, in which the country has associated membership.

According to Boldyryev, right-wing deputies will continue to block the issue in Parliament now that the Russian elections are finished. "Probably Rukh will block the CIS Parliamentary Assembly issue with more enthusiasm" after the Russian Communist win, according to Boldyryev.

Kiev To Develop Military Infrastructure on Disputed Island

LD1812203095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, Dec 18 (Interfax) — Head of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry's Division for Foreign Relations Oleksandr Urban told a briefing in Kiev today that the ministry would "more actively" develop the military infrastructure in the Zmeinyy Island in the Black Sea.

Urban said the Ukrainian Defense Ministry was now "carefully examining" all positions concerning the differences between Ukraine and Romania over the island's affiliation.

Nevertheless, the two countries' defense departments have "good relations," Urban said. "We have always managed to find a common language."

Romania contests that Zmeinyy Island and part of the adjacent continental shelf belong to Ukraine. Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Meleshkanu said that if no progress was made during talks with Ukraine, Romania would apply to the International Court.

The Ukrainian Foreign Ministry said that "there is no reason to argue about Zmeinyy Island territory."

Participation in Bosnian Peacekeeping Mission Viewed

WS1812161095 Kiev KHRESHCHATYK in Ukrainian 13 Dec 95 p 2

[Interview with First Deputy Foreign Minister Anton Buteyko, by UKRAINFORM correspondent Rostyslav Demchuk; place and date not given: "North Atlantic Council Session Ended in NATO's Brussels Headquarters" — first paragraph is KHRESHCHATYK introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] A Ukrainian governmental delegation led by First Deputy Foreign Minister Anton

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Buteyko participated in a session. Mr. Buteyko answered a UKRINFORM correspondent's questions in Brussels.

[Demchuk] The EU, the West European political union discusses Bosnian issues — without putting it in unnecessary diplomatic terms — to use Bosnia as an arena for demonstrating their military-political influence. Russia and other countries would like to participate in the peacekeeping operations in the former Yugoslavia. To what degree would it be important and profitable for Ukraine to participate in them, as well?

[Buteyko] It is not just a matter of demonstrating strength and influence, but of normalizing the situation, bringing peace into this region, into this country. Naturally, in this area, the use of NATO's potential and other countries is very important. It is important for Ukraine with regard to three aspects: humanitarian or political, economic, and legal. Our state, just as any democratic state, is interested in eliminating the shedding of blood in the world, as well as in peace and stability. Therefore, we are interested in participating in the peacemaking process.

Economic calculations indicate that we were losing huge profits due to the embargo and economic sanctions imposed on Yugoslavia because the Danube River was closed for ships, and because other possibilities for trade and economic cooperation were closed, as well. It is obvious that our national interest is to reestablish normal links on the Danube, as well as in other places. This lies in the interest of our state, as well as other states which exist in this region. In accordance with the UN's regulations, we are obligated to support peace and security, too. In accordance with the Security Council's decision, we have to send our military contingents to support peace whenever it is necessary.

[Demchuk] How does the issue of Ukraine's participation in the peacekeeping operations in Bosnia look in reality? I refer to the financial aspect. As we know, this is a somewhat complicated issue, for we are in difficult situation. Meanwhile, participation in such operations demands considerable funds. For instance, yesterday the approximate costs of participation of our Western neighbors — Poland and the Czech Republic — were cited. These figures vary from approximately $40 to $60 million for monthly maintenance of one battalion. How will we manage to resolve this issue?

[Buteyko] Our participation in these operations corresponds with our financial abilities. I would like to underscore that we are looking for foreign financial resources, as well as for domestic ones. I believe that proceeding from our economic situation we will find some wise compromise.

[Demchuk] Could you specify what it could be? Do you mean searching for a sponsor or through rendering some kind of services or equipment? Do you think that this is how we could obtain some funds?

[Buteyko] We are developing a concept of creating a special fund, possibly within the framework of NATO. Besides, Ukraine is ready to offer its battalion, as well as 10 military transport airplanes. They could be engaged on a commercial basis. This could be one method in searching for ways to overcome our difficult financial situation.

[Demchuk] In Brussels, you met the foreign ministers of Turkey, Denmark, the general secretary of the West European Union, as well as the commanders of implementation forces [implementatsiyny syly] in Bosnia. Is there anything significant about these meetings?

[Buteyko] Aside from the people you mentioned, I also met the foreign ministers of Belarus and Romania. The possibility to discuss certain issues regarding bilateral relations was of great importance. First and foremost, these concerned navigation, ratification of agreements on economic cooperation, as well as the agreements which lay the groundwork for business links — such as protection of investments, evasion of double taxation, and many others. It would cost a lot of money if we had to pay separate visits to these countries.

[Demchuk] How do you assess the North Atlantic Cooperation Council's activities?

[Buteyko] Positively. The majority of ministers of the North Atlantic union were present at the session. Holding this meeting indicates that NATO is working on establishing a security system in Europe.

National Affairs

Franchuk To Resign as Crimean Prime Minister

WS1912094495 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 0007 GMT 19 Dec 95

[By Lilia Budzhurova, "Special to INTELNEWS"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Simferopol, Dec. 18 — The Presidium of the Crimean Parliament decided Monday [18 December] to accept from Crimean Prime Minister Anatoliy Franchuk his promise to resign after his election to Ukrainian Parliament is accepted officially in Kiev.

The Crimean legislature had tried earlier this month to force Franchuk, who is related to Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma by marriage, out of office through a no-confidence vote.

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The move was the latest of several attempts to get rid of Franchuk throughout the year, all rejected by Ukraine's central government in Kiev, which in March assumed control of the Crimean government.

Having accepted Franchuk's request, the Presidium postponed hearing of the government report he was originally supposed to give until January.

Deputy Crimean Parliament Speaker Anushevan Danelian, commenting to journalists on the latest turn of the events, said that it came as no surprise and predicted that Kuchma would agree with the decision, as it is in complete accordance with Ukrainian law, which forbids members of Parliament from holding other government jobs.

He said he is convinced that the change of Prime Minister will not cause any crisis and added: "We are too preoccupied by the situation, but it's just an ordinary affair".

On Monday Crimean Parliament Speaker Yevgeniy Suprunyuk met with Kuchma to try to find a way out of the impasse caused by the no-confidence vote.

Franchuk also spent the weekend in Kiev, where he had hinted at compromise after meeting with the president.

Complaining of the illegality of the no-confidence vote against him, he said that "Maybe one day (he would) leave the position of Crimean Prime Minister, but this will be done on legal grounds."

Kuchma, Crimea's Suprunyuk Agree on Procedure

LD1912113095 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0800 GMT 19 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The procedure for Anatoliy Franchuk's resignation from the post of Crimean prime minister was agreed upon at a meeting between Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma and Crimean parliament Speaker Yevhen Suprunyuk in Kiev on Monday. Franchuk's statement and the Crimean Supreme Council presidium's decision [to recommend acceptance of his resignation] will be discussed at a plenary sitting of the Ukrainian parliament tomorrow. According to Yevhen Suprunyuk, a mechanism for appointing a new prime minister was also discussed at the meeting. He said that candidacies for the post of prime minister will be decided on the basis of proposals by Crimean parliament factions and commissions, after which they will be presented to the Ukrainian president for his agreement.

Economic Issues

Parliament Approves Budget Deficit

LD1512165595 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1420 GMT 15 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Kiev [no date as received] — On 15 December, the Supreme Council of Ukraine passed the law of Ukraine "On introducing amendments and addenda to Ukraine's state budget for 1995." Out of the 306 deputies who took part in the voting, 207 voted "in favor" and 19 "against" the law.

A UNIAN correspondent says that under the law, the 1995 state budget revenue has been approved at the level of 1.4 quadrillion karbovantsy, expenditure at the level of 1.8 quadrillion karbovantsy, and the maximum size of the budget deficit at the level of 331 trillion karbovantsy. The above figures were approved taking into account the results of the state budget implementation during the nine months of 1995. It was determined that the budget deficit would be covered at the expense of credits to the value of 244 trillion karbovantsy to be granted by the National Bank of Ukraine and external sources of financing to the value of 87 trillion karbovantsy.

Under the law, 100 percent of hard currency funds that have not been earmarked and the extra-budgetary state privatization fund, as at 1 November 1995, will be channelled to the state budget of Ukraine. Payments from the pension fund will amount to 434 trillion karbovantsy, of which 10 trillion karbovantsy will be allocated to raise the low-income level for some categories of pensioners. [passage omitted]

Moroz Views Economic Issues, Censures Kuchma

AU1912094095 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 5 Dec 95 pp 1, 2

[Report on statements by Supreme Council Chairman Oleksandr Moroz reported by Volodymyr Dupak and Anatoliy Kraslyanskyy in Zaporizhzhya; date not given: "The State Has Had No Economic Policy for Five Years"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

God Helps Those Who Help Themselves....

Having bitterly voiced this idea in Zaporizhzhya, the Supreme Council chairman said this:

"Even if one speaks of the government program and compares it with the draft budget, one can see that, a month after the program was adopted, the draft budget does not reflect the positions that are expounded there."

However, as Oleksandr Oleksandrovych pointed out sarcastically, the IMF's policy is aimed at deindustrializing

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production and depreciating fixed assets or privatizing them not with a view to having them function some time in the future, but, possibly, to preventing them from working today, so that they will not present competition for somebody in the future.

Directives, said the parliamentary head, by those who tell us how to build our budget and, generally, what we need to do next are insulting for the state. It is explicitly written there: To issue an edict by a certain date, to reduce expenditure on social needs by a certain amount, or to maintain these parameters concerning the budget....

Sharing his gloomy thoughts, he raised several "why's" before leaders of leading Zaporizhzhya Oblast enterprises and representatives of local authorities.

Why are we increasing our consumption of energy at a time of economic collapse? Why are energy resources being used exclusively in raw materials industries? Why do raw materials industries alone engage in exporting? Why are not all the technological lines that should reach the consumer market and, specifically, people connected with the raw materials industries?

All of this constitutes issues of state policy, which must be worked on by the government with a legislative foundation being developed for it.

Summing up the discussion to which he himself invited residents of the Zaporizhzhya Oblast, Oleksandr Moroz arrived at the following conclusion:

"Taking into account our problems, for example, those with energy resources, because of which we, indeed, are compelled to bow to our creditors, we must, while adhering to the rules of the game, extricate ourselves from this system. How? By introducing the norm of state credit to support major enterprises in the main industries, creating certain technological cycles, and changing the structure of production so as to prevent them from becoming unprofitable.

What Needs To Be Done To Have the Dream Come True?

To protect the national producer. Talk on this matter has been heard for a long time, but the "train" is moving very slowly. According to specialists at the Zaporizhzhya Car Factory, last year, 160,000 foreign cars were imported into Ukraine and, in the first nine months of the current year 200,000. Therefore, stated Stepan Kravchun, head of the "AvtoZAZ" [Zaporizhzhya Car Factory] joint stock company, "$2 billion has been invested in Europe and our budget has lost between $400 million and $500 million."

The introduction, in accordance with the law, of a heavy excise duty on car imports from abroad will start to protect Ukrainian car manufacturers. Today, they are not just facing the abyss, but one could even say they are hanging over it.

For "AvtoZAZ" to stay alive and not to regress, it must manufacture 100,000 cars per year. "Not to be lost in the world," this figure must reach 120,000. If this industry is to live, develop, and boast good car production in Ukraine capable of filling a corresponding niche on the market, 150,000 cars per year.

This dream may come true if about $60 million is invested in production.

Of course, the simplest way would be to obtain foreign investment and repay it in two years' time. For this, however, one also needs to get government guarantees and to overcome other hurdles.

The second variant is also seemingly simple: privatization.

There are enough people, both among our own citizens and those in the near and far abroad, willing to purchase the industrial plant. AvtoZAZ's managers have been turning down many offers, such as from Korea, which valued the plant at $100 million, whereas its fixed assets alone cost $650 million, as was also confirmed by international auditor companies.

The leadership of "AvtoZAZ" envisions yet another — perhaps the most realistic — possibility for survival and proposes the creation of a consortium of Ukrainian banks, which, having united, would make a financial injection and would thus obtain part of the property and become holders of the company's shares. According to Stepan Kravchun, the banks would, over six years, recoup their money through dividends alone and, combined with other ways, would do so within two years.

Such a situation is critical. As Oleksandr Oleksandrovych [Moroz] pointed out at a meeting with directors of the oblast's industrial and agricultural enterprises, "there are still no prospects for stopping the decline in production." However, the situation is not hopeless. It is, therefore, necessary to speed up the search for the road along which to proceed. For example, "AvtoZAZ" produces a light car in one minute and 20 seconds, if one works on the estimate of 150,000 a year. This means 8.2 trillion karbovantsi to the budget from "AvtoZAZ" alone. This would signify real employment for 131 teams in related industries, of which 42 would receive their means of subsistence exclusively from "AvtoZAZ." This would mean stability in the region, because every fourth karbovanets in the state budget, added Vyacheslav Pokhvalskyy, chairman of the Oblast Council of People's Deputies, is earned by "AvtoZAZ."

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Serious Discussions Ahead

Among the main issues that, according to Oleksandr Moroz, the Supreme Council will be dealing with in the near future will be the adoption of the 1996 budget and a clear position to be occupied by the deputies over taxation policy, and work on the Ukrainian Constitution.

This year, for the first time in a long period, the draft state budget was submitted much earlier than before — in December. Even though this also represents a delay, there is still a possibility to work on it.

In the opinion of the parliamentary head, the struggle will mostly be over those items in the budget that are associated with support for national producers and with financing corresponding programs. "I know," he said, "that this will not be easy to do, in view of the need to bring all revenue and expenditure into line with the minimal deficit, but I think that this discussion would mean, in principle, a trend in the economic development in 1996.

"The issue of raising, from taxes, budget revenue will also be a factor in the discussion. We realize the double-edged significance of this instrument, because, on the one hand, we are trying, as it were, to improve the situation in the budget by properly organizing the taxation system and, on the other hand, we understand perfectly well that the present taxation system destroys production and prevents expansion."

Yet another extremely important question that constantly emerged during Moroz's meetings with Zaporizhzhya residents concerned the Constitution. As is known, a heated discussion had taken place at a meeting of the Constitutional Commission around the content of the draft Main Law. "I think," the parliamentary chairman said, "that we must stand up for those truly democratic principles of building the state and organizing the state management that must be settled today."

To begin with, Moroz pointed out, the Constitution must encompass the principle of the division of powers. This is so that a representative of the legislature could not interfere with the work of the executive and a representative of the executive, including the president, into the work of the legislature. And so that different branches of power would not be "dancing" in the same legal area.

Today, on the one hand, there are no reasons for confrontation between the branches of power. But, on the other hand, the nature of the actions and functions of the Ukrainian president and Supreme Council, as stipulated by the known documents, pushes them precisely toward confrontation. For the president to issue a legislative edict, as was the case with the regulation on local councils, an edict that cuts out all the work of the councils and provides for interference into that work that is stipulated by the Constitution and even by the Constitutional Accord, is not a normal phenomenon. It was no accident that the Supreme Council vetoed that edict.

Everything must be determined by law, so that a person, working in a particular structure, would act properly or in accordance with legal norms.

In Moroz's opinion, the draft Constitution fortifies the conflict that pervades the Constitutional Accord. This must be avoided.

Those sections in this draft that apply to local powers are expounded very poorly.

"We must write a constitution for the state for many years ahead and invest it with those principles that will guarantee stability in society, irrespective of who will come to power and on what political platform," the Supreme Council chairman concluded.

Moroz took part in a rally on the occasion of the inauguration of a monument to those soldiers who had fallen in local wars. He met with former "Afghan" soldiers.

He also visited the Transplantology Center of the oblast clinic, where he expressed his ideas on the need to support projects and work such as that done there and the social sphere in general.

Power Supply Improves After Reconnection to Russian Grid

LD1812115195 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1115 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — The frequency of current in Ukraine's power grid has grown to 49.6-49.7 Hz [during the day] and to 50 Hz at night, following its reconnection to the Russian power grid.

After the disconnection of the two power grids on 4 December, the frequency dropped to 49.2-49.3 Hz, which was close to a critical level, as far as nuclear power stations was concerned, Oleksandr Voyevoda, deputy director of the Ukrainian national power engineering dispatcher center, has told UNIAN.

Voyevoda said the reconnection of the Ukrainian and Russian power grids will make its possible to maintain high enough stability of the frequency of current, prevent disconnection of a number of consumers from power supply, help improve safety of nuclear power stations, and increase the throughput of Ukraine's main power grid.

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Belarus

'Belarusian Card' in Duma Elections Viewed

WS1512151095 Minsk BELAPAN in English 0930 GMT 15 Dec 95

[Article by Ales Lipay: "On the Eve of Parliamentary Elections Russian Politicians Are Passive About Playing the 'Belarusian Card' Although It Is the Belarusian President Who Is Dealing the Pack," from the "Analytical Bulletin" feature No. 61, 6-12 December 1995]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Belarusian propaganda machine is again working to full capacity. However it was not too difficult to predict such activity on the part of official propaganda: The second round of parliamentary by-elections was held on December 10, and the present executive power is reluctant to see in the Oval Hall those politicians who already have the reputation of being disobedient to the President and even of being permanent critics of the policies of the Head of the State.

Let me not touch upon such ridiculous cases as the letter of protest from the heirs of (former Belarusian Communist Party first secretary) Pyotr Masheraw concerning a photo on which Stanislaw Shushkevich and Mr. Masheraw are shown together. They protested against this photo being printed on a pre-election leaflet. It is clear that this scandal was directed against the former speaker who was running for election in the Odoyewsk constituency of Minsk. Let me remind readers that on November 29 more than 47 percent of voters participating in the elections voted for Mr. Shushkevich. This is why the authorities are exploiting every possibility of preventing Mr. Shushkevich from crossing the narrow line which keeps him from being elected as an MP.

However official propaganda cares not only about these specific cases. It is much more concerned with the dividends from the parliamentary elections in the Russian Federation. They do not eschew ideological sensationalism. On December 4 those who watched "Panarama," an informational and analytical programme on Belarusian television, were surprised to hear that Alyaksandr Lukashenka's rating among Russian voters exceeded 30 percent, which is ten times as much as that of Russian politicians. This information was based on a sociological poll conducted in Russia. However journalists failed to mention who conducted the poll.

News distributed the following day made no attempt to conceal its source. The story is about the telegram sent by the Belarusian President to the leadership of 15 Russian electoral blocs. Addressees ranged from the leader of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and the head of the Communist Party Gennadiy Zyuganov to Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin, who heads the all-Russian movement 'Our Home is Russia' and Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, the leader of "Yabloko." It should be noted that Yegor Gaydar who heads "The Democratic Choice of Russia" was ignored as an addressee. Although he takes rather important positions in Russian politics and his party is neither small nor dependent: Yegor Gaydar's choice made a few years ago is still leading Russia.

The fact that bilateral relations have taken on the form of letter-writing between the Belarusian leader and the potential MPs in Russia is impressive. It is also important to mention in this respect that Alyaksandr Lukashenka showed an almost absolute lack of interest in parliamentary elections in his own country. He neither sent any telegrams to the parties which were allowed to run for places in the parliament nor called for voters to take an active part in voting. Quite the contrary, he did his best to reduce their activity. He also declared that should a new Parliament fail to be elected after the by-elections he himself will introduce direct presidential rule. The extent to which executive power was unwilling that the supreme legislative body should be elected may be illustrated by the following fact: in order to urge Belarusian voters to come to polling stations on December 10 the speaker of the old Belarusian Parliament had to appeal to the leadership of... the Russian broadcasting companies. Belarusian television refused to afford him such an opportunity.

Let us turn once again to the contents of the aforementioned telegram. Alyaksandr Lukashenka considered it absolutely necessary to inform the 15 politicians and the leadership of their electoral blocs of his positions concerning the progress of Belarusian-Russian relations. Getting ahead of my story, let me calm you down: The Belarusian President remained on the old positions as regards this issue. He is still assured that there is no alternative to the rapprochement of the two fraternal states, Belarus and Russia, because, begin quote, "Both the Belarusian and Russian peoples have a common age-old history and a common national, cultural and spiritual, as well as moral code — this is our Slavic nature. It determines the future of our states and peoples.... Belarusians' and Russians' desire is to live peacefully, to share all the temporal difficulties of the crisis and with hope look to their traditionally common and indivisible future. It is impossible to remove the two peoples' demand for unification due to the genetic nature of this demand. Proceeding from this truism, I am convinced that the political will of all people who understand and are concerned about the destiny of their Motherland and of its people should be directed towards a realisation of the unification idea." End of quote.

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We should pay attention to an innovation, i.e., the national code which is common for Belarusians and Russians. Well, I am not a brilliant geneticist, to be more precise, I am not a geneticist at all, but in my uneducated opinion these are the different national codes that allow us to distinguish between the two peoples the Belarusian leadership is so willing to integrate and whose future they do not see other than common. Alyaksandr Lukashenka admitted that the opponents to integration and to frank and open dialogue between our peoples are rather numerous. And they have been successful to some extent. He claimed that some politicians and some of the media — he could not but mention the latter — are creating the image of Belarus as an undeveloped and undemocratic republic and the image of its President as a dictator. The telegram further reads that the recklessness of some unfair politicians and journalist is so great that "they try to accuse me who was brought up in a Belarusian province and absorbed the whole tragedy of my nation, from fascist genocide to the Chernobyl disaster, of some sympathy to Hitlerism, the plague of the 20th century. The purpose of these savage actions is clear - they are designed to hamper the process of unification and direct Belarusian and Russian MPs election campaigns into a chaotic and uncontrolled channel." End of quote.

Here we see the other purpose of the telegram, i.e., to justify himself before Russian politicians for what he had said in the interview with the German newspaper HANDELSBLATT. It is unclear what savage actions directed against the Belarusian President can affect the progress of the parliamentary elections in Russia. The telegram was needed to make more active the play by Russian political forces on "the Belarusian card." Today the unification of Belarus and Russia is hardly discussed in the newspapers issued East of our borders although this theme was under sharp focus just half a year ago. Now it is touched upon only in the manifestos of the so- called patriotic forces such as the social and patriotic movement "Gosudarstvo" headed by Aleksandr Rutskoy, orthodox communists from the bloc "Communists-Working Russia-for the Soviet Union" and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy with his liberal democrats. Out of the forces which are usually called democratic in Russia, only the movement "Vperyod, Rossiya" headed by Boris Fyodorov is committed to the unification of Russia, Belarus and the Ukraine. As for Russian political forces, not even all of those risking it with "the Belarusian card" make frank declarations. Speaking recently in Saint-Petersburg, the well-known representative of the "Yabloko" bloc, Viktor Sheynis, explained these pre-election calls for integration by a desire to meet the mood of some voters in order to overcome the 50-percent voter barrier.

In view of the aforementioned and putting political preferences aside, we can but admire the energy of the Belarusian President in eliminating Belarusian statehood. Even then this is impossible due to simple national consciousness and the very national code mentioned by the President in the telegram to the Russian pre-election bloc.

Journalists Prevented From Traveling Abroad

WS1812131695 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 12 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by P.D.: "Four Journalists Were Not Allowed To Go Abroad" — first paragraph published in boldface]

[FBIS Translated Text] Border Guards did not allow four journalists from Belarusian nonstate newspapers to go abroad at Minsk-2 Airport on Friday, 8 December. They were taken off the flight No. OS-638.

Pavel Zhuk (SVABODA), Mikalay Alyaksandraw (BRESTSKIY KURYER), and Alyaksandr Valvachow and Alyaksandr Mikhalchuk (BELORUSSKAYA GAZETA) were heading for an international conference in Prague at the invitation of the Central European University. In refusing them the right to travel, Pyotr Aksyonaw, Border Guards officer and commander of the Minsk-2 checkpoint, referred to an order by his commanders, with whom he talked by telephone. The officer explained the refusal by the fact that since 1982 there has been a special regulation concerning travel to the Czech Republic which requires the presence of "AB" stamp in passports. The journalists were very surprised to hear this because a year ago they went to Prague for a similar conference with the same passports, and were allowed to go abroad without any hindrances.

Instead of participating in the conference attended by press representatives from almost 20 Central and East European countries, the journalists had to send a note to Prague explaining Belarusian travel restrictions.

The statement, which the journalists sent to foreign ambassadors accredited in Minsk as well, says the following: "Belarusian President A. Lukashenka recently issued an edict prohibiting high-ranking state officials from travelling abroad without his personal consent, regardless of sources of financing for such travels. This ban also concerns the editors in chief of state media. Although we would not like to link the aforementioned incident with this edict, an analogy is self-evident — controls over travel abroad not only by representatives of the state, but also other media is being imposed in the Republic of Belarus. This naturally leads to the conclusion that a totalitarian regime is being consolidated in the country."

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Moldova

Snegur: Difficulties in TransDniester Noted

LD1812174195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1633 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] CHISINAU, Dec 18 (Interfax) — Moldovan President Mircea Snegur believes that it is quite possible that Communists and Liberal Democrats would receive a majority in Russia's State Duma. For us this will "create difficulties in solving the Transdniestrian problem," Snegur said during a meeting with the State Secretary of the French Foreign Ministry, Margi Soudre, in Chisinau Monday.

The Chisinau-proposed project granting Transdniestr special status "is the last compromise of Moldova's authorities on this region," Snegur said. Support and understanding on the part of Russia's president and prime minister and the Ukrainian president are of great significance for resolving problems of this region.

Report on Voting by Russians in Chisinau, Tiraspol

AU1812214395 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 2055 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, December 18 (INFOTAG) — 15,047 Russian citizens arrived at polling stations opened in Chisinau and Tiraspol yesterday to take part in the Russian parliamentary elections. With an account of the Russian contingent deployed in Dniester, there are over 27,000 potential Russian voters currently residing in Moldova. According to the Russian Embassy in Chisinau, most of the voters (6,331) cast their papers for the Congress of Russian Communities headed by Alexander Lebed. The election winner — the Russian Communist Party — harvested only 2,559 votes in Moldova, the Liberal Democratic Party [LDPR] headed by maverick Vladimir Zhirinovskiy — 1,842, Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin and his bloc "Our Home Russia" — 421, the Yabloko Movement — 227, and the Choice of Russia — 44 votes. In Tiraspol, the electorate's activity reached 90 percent, which was a striking contrast to the indifference shown by Russians living in Chisinau. The polling station in the Russian consular office in Chisinau was attended by only 513 out of several thousand people eligible to vote. Their preferences were as follows: 132 voted for the Communist Party, 89 for the Congress of Russian Communities, 50 for Yabloko, 37 for the Choice of Russia and the same number for Our Home Russia, and 34 for Zhirinovskiy's party.

Background Information: According to preliminary data from Moscow, the victory was won by the Communist Party — 22 percent. Next follow the LDPR (11.2 percent), Our Home Russia (9.5), Yabloko (8.4). All the rest among the 43 competing forces failed to surpass the 5 percent margin, and shall have no representatives in the Duma. However, the situation may be changed after Moscow receives all results from single-mandate districts, which will supply almost half of the would-be Duma population.

Since the early morning of last Sunday [17 December], Russian citizens residing in Dniester were showing a high activity at the polling station arranged in the Officers' Club in Tiraspol. Most of them made no secret they were voting for Alexander Lebed and his Congress of Russian Communities. "Naturally, I voted for the Congress, as Alexander Lebed is a man of deed, and he seeks to help us. If he wins, Dniester will join Russia, and Moscow will help us to overcome the economic crisis," Alla Melnikova of Tiraspol told journalists yesterday. Similar confessions were made by many Russian servicemen who said they liked "the tough army ex-commander." The present-day Commander of the limited Russian Army contingent in Dniester, Lt Gen Valery Yevnevitch, stated there had been a lot of active and overt canvassing for Lebed and his Congress in the army units here, and even in barracks. However, he let understand he himself voted for Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin and the movement he heads, Our Home Russia. "I want Russia to become a great world power again. That is why I voted not for various congresses and alliances, but for our home, our Russia," Yevnevitch told journalists at the polling station. Most of the elderly Tiraspol residents, who are facing severe economic problems and are living much below the poverty line, voted for communists in the hope to bring back the nostalgic past. Some preferred Zhirinovskiy and his notorious 'eagles.' "The Liberal Democratic Party supported us in the previous Duma. We live at the south-western outpost of the Great Russia, and shall defend it to the last drop of our blood," stated Leonid Yelgin of the local Russian Culture Society.

Chisinau, Tiraspol Officials React to Elections

AU1812214695 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 2055 GMT 18 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, December 18 (INFOTAG) — It is Moldova's firm belief that the new State Duma will take a more realistic stance concerning the Army Withdrawal Agreement ratification and the Dniester peaceful settlement.

"Any attempts to indulge Tiraspol's current ambitions, as well as any talks about a recognition of the so-called Dniester republic, will only complicate the conflict settlement", Victor Josu, Adviser to President Snegur, told INFOTAG.

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"For us, the fundamental position is the one declared by President Boris Yeltsin, who stated that the Dniester dispute must be resolved on the basis of the unconditional respect for the Moldovan territorial integrity. We believe, this position will remain, for we regard it as the guarantee for normal development of relations between the two nations", Victor Josu said. "Ever since Moldova had chosen to build its own statehood, processes taking place in the Russian Federation cannot have a direct impact on the situation in our country," he pointed out.

"We are fully aware that both the Russian Communist Party and the Liberal Democratic Party are cherishing the idea of restoring the USSR. However, we believe the deep political and social processes taking place in Russia will not permit anybody to rock the boat to upsetting it. We also wish that this conclusion applies to Russia's external policy as well, including to its relationship with Moldova," the Adviser said.

"The preliminary election results are indicating Russia is going to have a very well-balanced State Duma," claimed Valery Litkai, state secretary of the separatist Dniester republic.

All previous supreme legislative forums were largely the products of "contingency or conjuncture," but now the Duma will be manned with clear-cut political forces, he said. During the two past years of normal work in the Duma, "the dirty water has settled, and real political forces became quite visible," as Litkai put it.

He welcomes the perspective that neither of the forces will have a three-quarter majority in the State Duma. "At the same time, any mature society should have one large party to control everything. There is no such party in Russia, as the Russian society is not mature enough to give birth to such a force," he said. If the 5 percent margin was overcome by small parties and movements, the Duma would turn "uncontrollable," Valery Litkai presumes.

"I do not think the new Duma will change to any substantial extent the traditional attitude to Dniester. To my mind, none of the existing political forces in Russia could dare to state openly it is against Dniester, even those who claim they are fighters against separatism," the state secretary said. "And it is quite logical that Russian citizens living outside Russia voted for Alexander Lebed. The point is, his Congress of Russian Communities had been established specially for such people," Litkai said.

The victory of the Russian Communist Party at the Russian parliamentary elections will influence very positively the Moldovan-Russian relations, believes Vladimir Voronin, First Secretary of the Moldovan Communist Party.

"The voting results were not a surprise for us: we were absolutely sure the Russian communists would win a majority," Voronin stated to INFOTAG. The fact that many Russian citizens living in Moldova gave their votes to the Russian Communist Party has been regarded by Voronin "not only the victory by Russian communists, but, speaking at large, a high rating in favor of Moldovan communists, too."

Mr. Voronin has made his own chief political conclusion of the Russian elections: "It is impossible to drag the human civilization back to the historic period it once lived in. People who were born and raised under socialism will never wish to be taken back to capitalism. They have understood, at last, that the communists are calling them not back, but forward, into real socialism. Communists are the only political force able to provide social stability and guarantees, and, most essentially, the people's confidence in tomorrow."

"The election results may influence the Moldovan-Russian relations only positively. First and foremost, the two states will begin working more actively in the CIS frames. It is well known that practically none of the 500 agreements and decisions signed by CIS members is working. Now the CIS interrelations will normalize, will become more concrete and fruitful", Voronin said. "Now we can hope for a normal, civilized solution of the Dniester problem in the framework of the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Moldova."

According to Mr. Voronin, he has reached a preliminary agreement with the Russian Communist Party leadership to arrive at Moscow and speak at one of the first sittings of the communist faction in the new State Duma. Voronin will report on the situation in Moldova and ways of normalizing its relationship with Dniester.

Defense Minister Opposes Russian Votes Leading to New USSR

LD1812174995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1633 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] CHISINAU, Dec 18 (Interfax) — Moldovan and Belarusian Defense Ministers Gen. Pavel Creanga and Lt. Gen. Leanid Maltsaw told a press conference in Chisinau today that the parliamentary elections in Russia should not lead to the restoration of the ex-USSR.

"The elections and their results are Russia's domestic affair and they should not influence inter-state political relations," the Moldovan minister said. "The idea of

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restoring the USSR should be renounced, because this might result in confrontation, including armed confrontation, between the former USSR's countries," he said.

The two defense ministers said their countries' cooperation with NATO was limited to participation in the NATO Partnership for Peace program, which Moldova joined among the first countries and Belarus joined in January 1995.

"Moldovan President Mircea Snegur has already stated his attitude regarding NATO's enlargement. Moldova is not against it in principle, but the interests of all countries, including Russia, should be taken into account," Creanga said.

The two countries' defense ministers today signed in Chisinau several documents concerning cooperation, including a protocol on organizing railroad transportation of military cargoes, repair of military equipment and a plan for cooperation in 1996.

Official: Russian Elections Cannot Change Foreign Policy

AU1812214495 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 2055 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, December 18 (INFOTAG) — "The Russian parliamentary election results cannot change Moldova's external political course," believes Petru Dascal, Foreign Policy Adviser to President Snegur. "This course is determined by the Constitution and the national Foreign Policy Concept, and is being consistently implemented," he stated to INFOTAG. "We are building civilized, mutually beneficial relations with all states, including the Russian Federation. It would be undesirable if the new alignment of political forces in Russia led to changes in the political course and influenced negatively the solution of problems presenting a mutual interest, and affected our bilateral relations in any negative way," Mr. Dascal said. Your correspondent asked the Adviser to comment the statement made on Sunday [17 December] by the Russian Communist Party Chairman Gennadiy Zyuganov, who said that "the restoration of the USSR is inevitable," on which Petru Dascal said "it was an irresponsible statement which ignored the real situation, the striving by the former Soviet Union republics to consolidate their statehood and sovereignty, and their recognition at the international arena."

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Tajikistan

Rakhmanov: 'Fair and Democratic' Russian Elections

LD1912113895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1115 GMT 19 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] DUSHANBE, Dec 19 (Interfax) — The outcome of elections in Russia is the result of "a fair and democratic competition", Tajikistan's President Emomali Rakhmanov told Interfax through his spokesman Zafar Saidov.

Saidov voiced confidence on Rakhmonov's behalf that no matter what parties and blocs prevail in the State Duma, "the foreign policy of great Russia will remain unchanged and will aim to promote mutually advantageous cooperation with all countries, above all CIS members".

For its part, Saidov added, Tajikistan's leadership "will spare no effort to promote mutually beneficial contacts with Russia, Tajikistan's chief partner and ally."

Opposition Leader Discusses Duma Elections

LD1812175295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1633 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ASHGABAT, Dec 18 (Interfax) — A leader of the Tajik opposition Akbar Turadzhonzoda told reporters in Ashgabat today that the results of the elections for the Russian State Duma might increase the Tajik Communist Party's influence.

"However, this influence will be indirect," Turadzhonzoda said.

"Russia's foreign and domestic policies are determined by the president, his cohorts and the key power ministries where no changes took place," he said.

Tajik First Deputy Prime Minister Makhmadsaid Ubaidullayev said he hoped that Russia's policy for reforms would be continued. "We aim at maintaining and developing bilateral relations with Russia," he said.

Turkmenistan

Nearly 3,500 Expatriates Vote in Russian Elections

LD1712202395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1847 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ASHGABAT, Dec 17 (Interfax) — The voting for the Russian State Duma ended in Turkmenistan where nearly 3,530 Russian expatriates, nearly 2,230 of them in Ashgabat, went to polling stations before 8 p.m. local time.

The polling results will be known in the afternoon of December 18.

Six polling stations of the Odintsovo constituency in the Moscow region were set up there.

Yevgeniy Belov, the minister-counsellor in the Russian Embassy to Turkmenistan, told Interfax that it was the first time in the history of the CIS that people having dual citizenship had voted.

Below praised the all-around support given by the government of Turkmenistan to the elections.

Negotiations With Tajikistan Bring Positions Closer

LD1812161095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1547 GMT 18 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Glazovskaya]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ashgabat, 18 December — "The inter-Tajik dialogue which resumed in Ashgabat today took place behind closed doors, but judging from the expressions on the faces of the participants at the end of the talks, one could draw the conclusion that for the first time the sides remained happy with each other". This assessment of the tone of today's meeting was given by the observer from Turkmenistan, Boris Shikhmyradov, head of the Turkmen foreign policy department.

He said that the positions had drawn closer together on the main block of political questions concerning the fulfilment of the 17th August Tehran agreement and other questions, the settlement of which seems possible.

The government delegation has submitted a proposal that attempts to introduce any changes in the structure of Tajikistan's state system should be avoided, proceeding from the fact that the republic already has the universally-adopted constitution and all the attributes of a legitimate power. Within the framework of the system the government side is ready, judging by its statements, to provide every opportunity for normal work of representatives of all opposition parties both individually and collectively.

As for Moscow consultations held by UN special envoy Ramiro Perez-Ballon, who returned to Ashgabat this morning, his assurances that Moscow strictly adheres to the idea of achieving a peaceful settlement in Tajikistan as soon possible and his hope that the Ashgabat round of will succeed have satisfied both sides to the talks.

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Armenia

Foreign Minister on Russian Elections, Nagorno-Karabakh

LD1312231695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2120 GMT 13 Dec 95

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] YEREVAN, Dec 13 (Interfax) — Armenian Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan believes that the December 17 State Duma elections in Russia are unlikely to bring about any major changes in Moscow's foreign policy.

Papazyan told a news conference in Yerevan on Tuesday that for Armenia it was important that the process of democratization in Russia should go on.

"Russia is Armenia's biggest neighbor and one of its leading partners," Papazyan said.

About his participation in the session of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council in Brussels on December 6-7 Papazyan said that Armenia would soon present to the Council its individual program for cooperation with NATO within the framework of Partnership for Peace.

Papazyan said that Yerevan did not regard military cooperation with NATO as a priority.

He explained that "Armenia has rather developed military relations with other former Soviet republics, in the first place, with Russia." "We do not see any reason why we should ruin what took so much effort to build over the past few years," he said.

At the same time Papazyan believes that in certain spheres cooperation with the North Atlantic Alliance may prove mutually beneficial.

The Armenian foreign minister said he was satisfied with the fact that Azerbaijan's attempts to involve NATO in settling the Karabakh problem failed to draw a favorable response from NATO leaders. "NATO officials in Brussels are perfectly aware that NATO cannot play any role in that matter," Papazyan said.

As he commented on the discussion of the Karabakh problem the OSCE foreign ministers held in Budapest on December 8-10, Papazyan said that the mediators, including the OSCE, demanded more active steps to settle the conflict and probably were exerting certain pressure in a bid to achieve the desired result as soon as possible.

He stated that although the negotiations on the problem went on, they were becoming ever slower and more difficult.

Papazyan said that there would soon be direct contacts, trilateral and bilateral, involving Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorno- Karabakh, which would "help narrow differences over key aspects of a future settlement."

Papazyan believes that "in the foreseeable future the armistice on the Karabakh front established on May 12 1994 is unlikely to be violated." At the same time he did not rule out that hostilities might resume if another round of talks ended inconclusively.

As for the possibility of economic sanctions against those reluc ant to compromise, Papazyan said they were unlikely.

"At the same time it is not ruled out that mediators, angry about slow progress in the negotiations, would be forced to reconsider their attitude to Armenia," Papazyan said.

He said that security guarantees for Nagorno-Karabakh and its people were crucial to Yerevan. "No international organization can provide such guarantees. Guarantees by individual countries are more likely," he said.

Papazyan said that Armenia itself might undertake to provide part of the guarantees. "This is a very important question and it must be a subject matter of negotiations," Papazyan said.

He dismissed as groundless Baku's allegations that Yerevan put forward the status of Nagorno-Karabakh as a priority. "On the contrary, we believe that discussing that problem at this point would make no sense," Papazyan said.

He expressed the hope that Armenia would manage to agree on a common position with Nagorno-Karabakh, which has so far had a different vision of the question.

Russian Ambassador Comments on Elections

NC1812212995 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1950 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The elections in Russia indicate first of all that the country is entering a democratic course in its social development. This was said by the by Russian Ambassador to Armenia Andrey Urnov in a statement to an ARMENPRES correspondent. At present, there could only be talk about the preliminary results and the fact that this time the voters were more active then two years ago during the first elections to the State Duma. The voters expressed themselves as being in favor of seeing Russia become a stable country. The ambassador indicated that the Russian citizens residing in Armenia, particularly those in the army and frontier units, were also noted for their active participation in

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the voting. There were many voting districts. At Yerevan's Hrazdan voting district, where there were 4,000 voters. The Our Home is Russia Movement ranked first, Democratic Communist Party of Russia second. [passage indistinct]

Replying to a question on the development of bilateral ties in the context of the election situation in Russia, Mr. Urnov noted that none of the politicians and political parties in Russia with any sense of responsibility will consider reviewing the traditionally friendly, free, and extensive Armenian-Russian ties.

Direct Radio-Telephone Link Established With Iran

NC1812155795 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2000 GMT 16 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Communications Ministry press service reported that a direct telephone link between Armenia and Iran was established some days ago using a radio-relay line between Yerevan and Tehran.

This means that the Armenian-Iranian telephone link, which formerly used to go through other countries, will henceforth be established directly. Some of the telephone lines will be allocated to organizations, enterprises, individual businessmen, and offices in Armenia interested in establishing a direct telephone link with Iran. Those wishing to make use of this link should apply to the joint Armenian-American venture ARMENTEL.

The established link makes it possible to organize from Yerevan and Tehran transport arrangements with other countries.

Yerevan Reports Cease-Fire Violations

NC1512200695 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1500 GMT 15 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Armenian Ministry of Defense has reported that no incidents took place on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan last night or this morning. The sides have refrained from worsening the tense situation.

However, defensive positions in Yeraskhavan in Ararat district were fired on from Nakhichavan on 11 and 12 December. The Armenians were forced to retaliate to silence the sources of enemy fire.

There was no justification for the Azerbaijani fire. Other provocative activities have obstructed the establishment of stability in the border areas as well. We hope that Azerbaijani officials will take measures to end the unnecessary firing and provocative activities.

Georgia

Police Protect Polling Stations for Russian Elections

LD1612131795 Tbilisi IPRINDA in Russian 1226 GMT 16 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi, 16 Dec —The press center of the Georgian Ministry of Internal Affairs says that, as of today, the Georgian police have enhanced their vigilance in the areas where citizens of the Russian Federation residing in Georgia will be casting their votes in the State Duma election. The Tbilisi police will do their best to ensure that public order is maintained around Russian military garrisons, the headquarters of the Russian Border Troops, the military hospital, and the Russian Embassy. Similar instructions have been issued to police regional departments in Ajaria, Kvemo Kartli, Samtskhe-Javakheti, and Samegrelo provinces.

The Russian Embassy has welcomed the steps adopted by the Georgian police.

Supreme Council Approves New Foreign Minister

LD1512150595 Tbilisi IPRINDA in Russian 1440 GMT 15 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi, 15 Dec — The Georgian Supreme Council held its regular meeting on 15 December. The parliament considered and approved the appointment of Irakli Menagharashvili [former deputy prime minister] as foreign minister. Menagharishvili's candidature was supported by 157 votes while two were against.

New Minister Outlines Priorities

LD1612160895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1553 GMT 16 Dec 95

[By Tengiz Pachkoria and Tomas Chagelishvili]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TBILISI, December 16 (Itar-Tass) — Georgia's new Foreign Minister Irakli Menagharashvili said his top priority task is to facilitate the settlement of the conflicts in Abkhazia and South Ossetia and restore Georgia's territorial integrity.

Menagharashvili, 44, said his nomination was approved by the Georgian parliament on Friday.

He said the Foreign Ministry will seek to expand and strengthen good-neighbourly relations with Russia and Western countries.

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Estonia

Envoy Says Relations With Russia To Remain Unaffected

WS1912100795 Tallinn ETA in English 0743 GMT 19 Dec 95

[From 19 Dec, POSTIMEES, p. 3; "News Bulletin" No. 250]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Estonian Ambassador to Russia Mart Helme predicts bilateral relations not to be greatly influenced by the recent Duma elections. "I do not expect a turn to better nor worse", Helme told in an interview to POSTIMEES. Russia has lately started to strengthen its pressure to the Baltics, especially to Estonia. "There are many politicians in Russia who are not able to understand that Estonia is an independent country", Helme added. According to the ambassador Russia is acting very ambiguously, with its refusal not to recognize legal continuity of Estonian state at the border negotiations while at the same time recognising the continuity in church property issue.

Helme sees Russia's political and economic interests to be behind the pressure it puts to Estonia, Estonia's geopolitical position irritates several Russian politicians who cannot understand why should Russia negotiate over the use of Estonian ports and thereby lose money. Helme does not think that the property dispute between the orthodox churches in Estonia is simultaneously a dispute between the two states. A solution for the dispute is to be found, to allow both churches to continue with their services.

Estonia has expressed its wish for the improvement of bilateral relations, Helme told. Russia has not even managed to return the official badge of the president of Estonia and the property of Tartu University in Voronezh. "We still have to prove to some countries that Estonia is a sovereign state", Helme concluded.

Politicians Not Alarmed Over Russian Election Results

WS1912093895 Tallinn BNS in English 1312 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tallinn, Dec 18, BNS — Estonian politicians say the victory scored by communists and nationalist radicals is not going to have any serious economic consequences for Estonia.

The results of the Russian elections should not be discouraging to Estonia, head of the Estonian Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee Eino Tamm told BNS on Monday [18 December].

Ex-premier Mart Laar told BNS that despite the conservatives' victory Russia did not have much opportunity of exerting economic influence on Estonia.

"As Estonia has shaken itself loose of Russia's economy over the past few years, Russia does not have very many economic levers left to effect a punishment on Estonia," one of the leaders of the right-wing Pro Patria Union told BNS.

There are protective Russian trade tariffs in force against Estonia at present.

According to preliminary data the two most successful parties in the Russian elections, the Russian Communist Party and the Liberal-Democratic Party, have said they are in favor of the restoration of the Soviet Union by economic means.

Tamm said the parliamentary elections were an objective repercussion of the Russian reform policy. "Estonia should not get frightened, we will simply have to find new people to contact," Tamm told BNS. He added that Russia was a country with a strong presidential power.

Tamm also said the Russian communists would find it more difficult than Russian democrats not to recognize the Tartu Peace Treaty, the main stumbling block in the Estonian-Russian border talks. "Russian democrats have said they do not regard themselves as Lenin's successors who they see as a criminal, and they therefore denounce the Tartu Peace Treaty. If Zyuganov (the leader of the communists - BNS), however, says they are successors of the Communist Party and respect Lenin, the will be hard put to denounce the Tartu Peace Treaty," Tamm said.

Laar said the preliminary results of the Russian parliamentary elections were harmful for Estonia in terms of the forthcoming Russian presidential elections. "They have nothing good in store not just for Estonia, but also in a wider sense," Laar said in reference to the communists and the nationalist radicals emerging as the three winners of the elections.

"It would have been best if everything had remained as bad as it is, but I don't think anyone is so optimistic," the ex-premier said.

Laar said the pro-imperial forces could cause problems above all to Ukraine. "If this is the case," he said, "it is clear that indirectly this will also create problems for us."

Tamm, who was in Moscow as an OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] observer, said the elections in Russia were carried out in a democratic way.

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Lithuania

Brazauskas Comments on Russian Election Results

LD1812110495 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas was one of the first country leaders to comment on the preliminary results of the parliamentary elections in Russia. At a news conference in Vilnius this morning, Algirdas Brazauskas said:

[Begin Brazauskas recording] I would not say that the election results as they are known so far will provoke any significant overturns in government structures, or that such overturns can be anticipated. One should remember that the roles of the parliament and the president in Russia are quite different from those in many European countries, including our country. I do not want to undervalue the role of the parliament, the Duma, but nevertheless the power of the president is very strong. One could look at some current events in the United States of America: The majority belongs to one party, the President represents the minority party, but the life in the country is going on, decisions are being made [words indistinct] and it does not cause any critical situations. I think that in Russia it will be similar. [end recording]

Government Blamed for Slow Integration Into EU

LD1812132795 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1200 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] After taking a first-hand look at the mechanism of European integration in Madrid last weekend, President Algirdas Brazauskas sharply criticized insufficient efforts by the Foreign Ministry and other government agencies to join this process.

We have a very hard and demanding job to do, especially in 1996 and 1997, the president noted, commenting on the possibility of Lithuania becoming full member of the European Union [EU] before the end of this century. Algirdas Brazauskas, who took part in the European Union summit in Madrid last weekend, told a news conference that the work being done today by the Foreign Ministry and the Economics Ministry is not sufficient.

The Lithuanian Foreign Ministry has been considered the country's leading government agency in the area of European integration because of both various international contacts and setting up of specialized institutions.

Algirdas Brazauskas urged that the Seimas also work more actively for integration. Reviewing our legislation and bringing it into line with the European Union's legal system is also very important, the president said. At the same time, he warned his political opponents that Lithuania will lag behind other countries if the opposition keeps just criticizing instead of working.

President Brazauskas Concludes Visit to Madrid

LD1712171195 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1500 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The visit by Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas to Spain, where a summit of the European Union leaders was held, has been concluded. [passage omitted]

In his speech at the summit in Madrid, the Lithuanian president said that negotiations on full membership with all associate EU members should start simultaneously. After the summit, Brazauskas said the Madrid summit was concrete and business-like. Brazauskas had bilateral meetings with the Cypriot President Glavkos Kliridhis, Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis, Polish Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy, and Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. He discussed strategic matters related to the efforts [by associate EU members] to obtain full membership in the European Union, problems of bilateral relations, and issues of regional cooperation.

President's Advisor Against Baltic Military Union

LD1812174795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1633 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] VILNIUS, Dec 18 (INTERFAX) — The Lithuanian president's advisor on foreign policy issues Justas Paleckis told INTERFAX today that creation of small local defense unions "would be an anachronism."

"Creation of a military union of the Baltic countries or the signing of a treaty on the three Baltic states' joint defense is unlikely to contribute to their integration with the European Union or other European structures," he said. This conclusion had been drawn by those at today's meeting of the coordinating council for foreign policy issues, chaired by Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas, Paleckis said.

Proposals that a military union be created or a joint defense treaty be signed between the Baltic states were fostered in resolutions adopted by a recent session of the Baltic Assembly in Tallinn.

However, Paleckis said these proposals ran counter to earlier documents endorsed by the presidents and governments of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

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Foreign Ministry Hails Bosnian Peace Accord

LD1512213195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1819 GMT 15 Dec 95

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] VILNIUS, Dec 15 (INTERFAX) — Lithuania hails the Paris agreements on Bosnian settlement, which create conditions for putting an end to the war and ensuring security and stability in former Yugoslavia, according to a statement issued by the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry in Vilnius.

The statement says that Lithuania has consistently spoken in favor of a peaceful resolution of conflicts in former Yugoslavia and for constructive dialogue between all interested sides. In particular, Lithuanian peacekeepers participated in U.N. operations in Croatia.

According to the statement, Lithuania is prepared to provide peacekeepers for the NATO-led international force in Bosnia. Vilnius would also like to participate in the OSCE mission in charge of organizing and holding free elections in Bosnia.

Lithuanian government's press office told INTERFAX that NATO had formally invited Lithuania to participate in the international operation in Bosnia.

Lithuanian Defense Minister Linas Linkevicius told INTERFAX that, under a government decision, Vilnius will send 32 servicemen to the Balkans, where they will join the Danish peacekeeping battalion.

However, the decision must first be approved by parliament, said Linkevicius.

U.S., Sweden Informed of Territorial Dispute With Latvia

LD1712171595 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1000 GMT 17 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Lithuanian Foreign Ministry has sent notes to the U.S. and Swedish Governments concerning the participation of the U.S. Amoco company and the Swedish firm OPAB in exploration of oil deposits in the disputed area of the Baltic Sea shelf. Quoting a Lithuanian deputy foreign minister, the Lithuanian newspaper RESPUBLIKA has reported that the notes sent to the United States and Sweden are not protest notes. Rather, they are official reports about the territorial dispute between Lithuania and Latvia. The Lithuanian Foreign Ministry understands that the U.S. and Swedish Governments cannot directly influence activities of private companies. However, they should pay attention to such activities.

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